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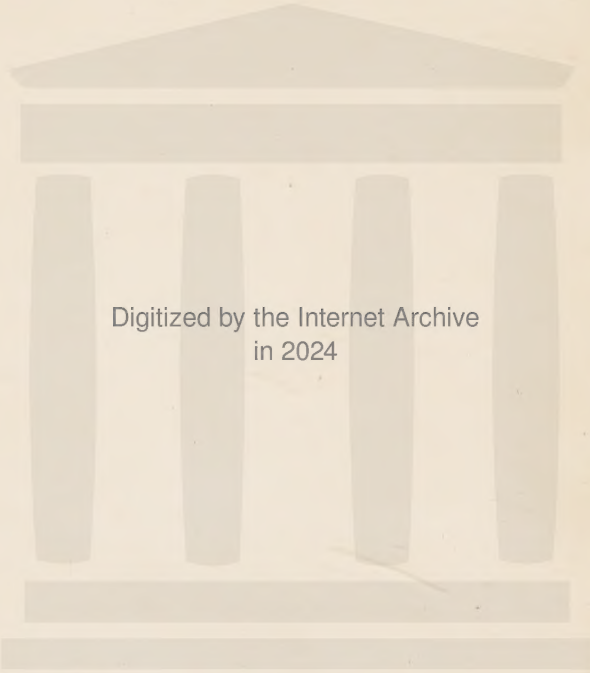


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HISTORY
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
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BY
GEORGE BANCROFT.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

THOROUGHLY REVISED EDITION.

BOSTON:
LITTLE, BROWN, AND COMPANY.
1879.

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UNIVERSITY PRESS: JOHN WILSON & SON,
CAMBRIDGE.

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THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

EPOCH SECOND CONTINUED.

HOW GREAT BRITAIN ESTRANGED AMERICA.

1763-1774.

VOL. IV.

1

HOW GREAT BRITAIN ESTRANGED AMERICA.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CHARTER OF MASSACHUSETTS IN PERIL. THE FALL OF THE ROCKINGHAM ADMINISTRATION.

MAY—JULY, 1766.

THE satisfaction of America was not suffered to continue long. The king, regarding the repeal of the stamp act as “a fatal compliance,” which had “planted ^{1766.} thorns” under his pillow and for ever “wounded ^{May.} the majesty” of England, preferred the hazard of losing the colonies to tempering the British claim of absolute authority. Their denial of that claim and their union were ascribed by his friends to the hesitation of his ministers, whose measures, they insisted, had prevailed by “artifices” against the real opinion of parliament; and “the coming hour” was foretold, “when the British Augustus would grieve for the obscuring of the glories of his reign by the loss not of a province, but of an empire more extensive than that of Rome; not of three legions, but of whole nations.”

A reaction necessarily followed. Pitt had erected no stronger bulwark for America than the shadowy partition which divides internal taxation from imposts regulating commerce; and Rockingham had leapt over this slight defence, declaring the power of parliament to extend of right to all cases whatsoever. But they who give absolute power give the abuse of absolute power; they who draw the bolts from the doors and windows let in the robber. When the opinions of Bedford and Grenville became sanc-

tioned as just principles of constitutional law, no question respecting their policy remained open but that of its expediency; and country gentlemen, if they had a right to raise a revenue from America, were sure that it was expedient to ease themselves of one fourth of their land-tax by exercising the right. "The administration is dead, and only lying in state," was the common remark. Conway was eager to resign; and Grafton not only threw up his office, but, before the house of lords, called on the prime minister, who regarded the ascendancy of the old whig aristocracy as almost a part of the British constitution, to be content with an inferior station, for the sake of accomplishing a junction with Pitt.

1766.
May.

On the resignation of Grafton, Conway, with his accustomed indecision, remained in office, but escaped from the care of America to the northern department. There appeared a great and general backwardness to embark with Rockingham. Lord North had hardly accepted a lucrative post, before he changed his mind and excused himself. Lord Howe would not serve, unless under Pitt. Lord Hardwicke refused the place left vacant by Grafton; so did his brother, Charles Yorke; and so did Egmont; till at last it fell to the husband of Conway's step-daughter, the liberal, self-confident Duke of Richmond, who added grace and courtesy of manners to firm affections, but was swayed by an ambition that far outran his ability. He, too, shunned the conduct of American affairs; and they were made over to a new department of state, which Dartmouth was to accept. Once, to delay his fall, Rockingham suggested a coalition with the Duke of Bedford. Female politicians, at their game of loo, divined the ruin of the ministry, and were zealots for governing the colonies by the hand of power.

In America, half-suppressed murmurs mingled with its transport. Taxation by parliament began to be compared with restrictions on industry and trade; and the latter were found to be "the more slavish thing of the two," and "the more inconsistent with civil liberty." The protesting lords had affirmed that, if the provinces might refuse obedience

to one statute, they might to all; that there was no abiding place between unconditional universal submission and independence. Alarmed that so desperate an alternative should be forced upon them, the colonists, still professing loyalty to a common sovereign, were driven nearer and nearer to a total denial of the power of the British legislature; but, for the present, they confined their case to the power of taxation. "I will freely spend nineteen shillings in the pound," said Franklin, "to defend my right of giving or refusing the other shilling; and, after all, if I cannot defend that right, I can retire cheerfully with my little family into the boundless woods of America, which are sure to afford freedom and subsistence to any man who can bait a hook or pull a trigger." "The Americans," said Thomson Mason, the ablest lawyer of that day in Virginia, "are hasty in expressing their gratitude, if the repeal of the stamp act is not at least a tacit compact that Great Britain will never again tax us. The different assemblies, without mentioning the proceedings of parliament, should enter upon their journals as strong declarations of their own rights as words can express. Thus one declaration of rights will stand against another; and matters will remain as they were, till some future weak minister, equally a foe to Britain and her colonies, shall, by aiming at popularity, think proper to revive the extinguished flame."

To the anxious colonies, Boston proposed union as the means of security. While within its own borders it sought "the total abolishing of slavery," and encouraged learning, as the support of the constitution and the handmaid of liberty, its representatives were charged to keep up a constant intercourse with the other English governments on the continent, to conciliate any difference that should arise; ever preferring their friendship and confidence to the demands of rigorous justice. Henceforth its watchword was union, which the rash conduct of the dismayed officers of the crown contributed to establish. Bernard was elated at having been praised in the house of lords by Camden for one set of his opinions, and quoted as an oracle in the Bedford protest for the other. There was even a rumor that

1766.
May.

he was to be made a baronet. His superciliousness rose with his sense of personal safety; and he boasted that, on the meeting of the legislature, he should play out his part as governor.

In choosing the new house in Massachusetts, many towns, stimulated by the "rhapsodies" of Otis, put firm patriots in the places of the doubtful and the timid. Plymouth sent James Warren, the brother-in-law of Otis; and Boston, at the suggestion of Samuel Adams, gave one of its seats to John Hancock, a popular young merchant, of large fortune. At their organization, on the last Wednesday in May, the representatives elected James Otis their speaker, and Samuel Adams their clerk. Otis was still the most influential member of the house; had long been held in great esteem throughout the province; had been its delegate to the New York congress, and had executed that trust to universal acceptance. Though irritable, he was placable, and at heart was truly loyal. Bernard ostentatiously negatived the choice. The negative, as unwise as it was unusual, excited undefined apprehensions of danger; but the house, deferring to legal right, acquiesced without complaint, and substituted as its speaker the respectable but irresolute Thomas Cushing.

1766.

May.

In the afternoon of the same day, at the choice of the council, the four judges of the supreme court, of whom Hutchinson was the chief, the king's attorney, and Oliver, the secretary and late stamp-master, all members of the last year's board, were not re-elected; for, said Samuel Adams, "upon the principle of the best writers, a union of the several powers of government in one person is dangerous to liberty." The ballot had conformed strictly to the charter and to usage, and the successful candidates were men of prudence, uprightness, and loyalty. But Bernard "resented" the exclusion of the crown officers by negativing six of the ablest "friends of the people in the board." He had the legal right to do so; and the legislature submitted without a murmur.

Here the altercation should have terminated. But, on the following day, Bernard, an "abject" coward where

courage was needed, and now insolent when he should have been conciliatory, undertook to force the election of Hutchinson and Oliver, as the condition of an amnesty; and accused the house of having determined its votes from "private interests."

Concurrently, Rigby, as the leader of the Bedford party, on the third of June, proposed in the British house of commons an address to the king, censuring America for its "rebellious disposition," and pledging parliament to the coercion of the colonies.

1766.
June.

From the ministerial benches, Charles Townshend, professing to oppose the motion, spoke substantially in its favor. "It has long been my opinion," said he, in conclusion, "that America should be deprived of its militating and contradictory charters, and its royal governors, judges, and attorneys be rendered independent of the people. I therefore expect that the present administration will, in the recess of parliament, take all the necessary previous steps for compassing so desirable an event. The madness and distractions of America have demanded the attention of the supreme legislature; and the colony charters have been considered, and declared by judges of the realm inconsistent and actually forfeited by the audacious and unpardonable resolves of subordinate assemblies. This regulation must no longer be trusted to accidental obedience. If I should differ in judgment from the present administration on this point, I now declare that I must withdraw, and not longer co-operate with persons of such narrow views in government; but I hope and expect otherwise, trusting that I shall be an instrument among them of preparing a new system."

Rigby was ably supported by Lord North and Thurlow; and especially by Wedderburn, who railed mercilessly at the ministers, in a mixed strain of wit, oratory, and abuse: so that, notwithstanding a spirited speech from Conway, and a negative to the motion without a division, America was taken out of their control and made the sport of faction.

The very same day on which Townshend proclaimed a war of extermination against American charters, similar

threats were uttered at Boston. In communicating the circular letter from Conway, proposing "to forgive and forget" the incidents of the stamp act, and directing the several governors to "recommend" to the colonial legislatures an indemnification of all sufferers by the riots which it occasioned, Bernard renewed his complaints that the principal crown officers had been dropped from the council, and held out a menace of a change in the charter of the province, if Hutchinson should not be elected to the board.

"The requisition is founded upon a resolution of the house of commons," he continued, employing the word which that body, after debate, as well as Conway, had purposely avoided. "The authority with which it is introduced should preclude all disputation about complying with it."

1766.
June. Bernard's speeches fell on the ear of Samuel Adams as not less "infamous and irritating" than the worst "that ever came from a Stuart to the English parliament;" and, with sombre joy, he called the province happy in having for its governor one who left to the people no option but between perpetual watchfulness and total ruin.

"The free exercise of our undoubted privileges," replied the house, "can never, with any color of reason, be adjudged an abuse of our liberty. We have strictly adhered to the directions of our charter and the laws of the land. We made our election with special regard to the qualifications of the candidates. We cannot conceive how the assertion of our clear charter right of free election can tend to impeach that right or charter. We hope your excellency does not mean openly and publicly to threaten us with a deprivation of our charter privileges, merely for exercising them according to our best judgment."

"No branch of the legislature," insisted the council, "has usurped or interfered with the right of another. Nothing has taken place but what has been constitutional and according to the charter. An election duly made, though disagreeable to the chair, does not deserve to be called a formal attack upon government or an oppugnation of the king's authority."

Mayhew, of Boston, mused anxiously over the danger, which was now clearly revealed, till, in the morning watches of the next Lord's Day, light dawned upon his excited mind, and the voice of wisdom spoke from his warm heart, which was so soon to cease to beat. "You have heard of the communion of churches," he wrote to Otis; "while I was thinking of this in my bed, the great use and importance of a communion of colonies appeared to me in a strong light. Would it not be decorous for our assembly to send circulars to all the rest, expressing a desire to cement union among ourselves? A good foundation for this has been laid by the congress at New York; never losing sight of it may be the only means of perpetuating our liberties." The patriot uttered this great word of counsel on the morning of his last day of health in Boston. From his youth, he had consecrated himself to the service of colonial freedom in the state and church; he died, overtasked, in the unblemished beauty of manhood, consumed by his fiery zeal, foreseeing independence. Whoever repeats the story of American liberty renews his fame.

The time for intercolonial correspondence was not come; but, to keep up a fellow-feeling with its own constituents, the house, setting an example to be followed by all representative bodies, opened a gallery for the public to attend its debates. It sent a grateful address to the king, and voted thanks to Pitt and to Grafton; and, among 1766.
June. many others, to Conway and Barré, to Camden and Shelburne; to Howard, who had refused to draw his sword against the colonies; to Chesterfield, who left retirement for their relief. But, as to compensating the sufferers by the late disturbances, it upheld its right of deliberating freely, and would only promise at its next session to act as should then appear just and reasonable.

Connecticut, overjoyed at the repeal of the stamp act and expressing satisfaction at being connected with Great Britain, took the precaution to elect as its governor the discreet and patriotic William Pitkin, in place of the loyalist Fitch.

The legislature of South Carolina, retaining, like Georgia, its avowed sentiments on internal taxation, marked its

loyalty by granting every requisition, even for doubtful purposes ; at the same time, it asked for the pictures of Lynch, Gadsden, and Rutledge ; and, on the motion of Rawlins Lowndes, remitted a thousand pounds towards a statue of Pitt. Still they felt keenly that they were undeservedly distinguished from their happier fellow-subjects in England by the unconstitutional tenure of their judges during the king's pleasure. They complained, too, that ships laden with their rice for ports north of Cape Finisterre were compelled, on their outward and return voyage, to touch at some port in England ; and they prayed for modifications of the navigation act, which would equally benefit Great Britain and themselves.

At New York, on the king's birthday, the bells rang merry peals to the strains of martial music and the booming of artillery ; the Fields near the Park were spread for
1766.
June. feasting ; and a tall mast was raised to George III., William Pitt, and Liberty. At night, enormous bonfires blazed ; and all was as loyal and happy as though freedom had been brought back, with ample pledges for her stay.

The assembly came together in the best spirit. They passed over the claims of Colden, who was held to have been the cause of his own griefs ; but resolved by a majority of one to indemnify James, who had given impartial testimony before the house of commons. They also voted to raise on the Bowling Green an equestrian statue of George III., and a statue of William Pitt, twice the preserver of his country. But the clause of the mutiny or billeting act directing colonial legislatures to make specific contributions towards the support of the army, placed New York, where the head-quarters were established, in the dilemma of submitting immediately and unconditionally to the authority of parliament, or taking the lead in a new career of resistance. The rescript was, in theory, worse than the stamp act. For how could one legislative body command what another legislative body should enact ? And, viewed as a tax, it was unjust, for it threw all the burden on the colony where the troops chanced to be collected. The requisition.

of the general, made through the governor, "agreeably to the act of parliament," was therefore declared to be unprecedented in its character and unreasonable in its amount; yet, in the exercise of the right of free deliberation, every thing asked for was voted, except such articles as were not provided in Europe for British troops which were in barracks.

The general and the governor united in accepting the grant; but, in reporting the affair, the well-meaning, indolent Moore reflected the opinions of the army, whose officers still compared the Americans to the rebels of Scotland, and wished them a defeat like that of Culloden. "My message," said he, at the end of his narrative, "is treated merely as a requisition made here; and they have carefully avoided the least mention of the act on which it is founded. It is my opinion that every act of parliament, when not backed by a sufficient power to enforce it, will meet with the same fate."

From Boston, Bernard, without any good reason, chimed in with the complainers. "This government," said he, "quickenened and encouraged by the occurrences at New York, cannot recover itself by its own internal powers." "The making the king's council annually elective is the fatal ingredient in the constitution. The only anchor of hope is the sovereign power, which would secure obedience to its decrees, if they were properly introduced and effectually supported." And he gave himself no rest in soliciting the interposition of parliament and the change of the charter of Massachusetts.

CHAPTER XXVI.

COALITION OF THE KING AND THE GREAT COMMONER AGAINST
THE ARISTOCRACY. THE ADMINISTRATION OF CHATHAM.

JULY—OCTOBER, 1766.

THE obnoxious clauses of the billeting act had been renewed inadvertently by ministers, who had designed to adopt a system of lenity. They proposed to remove Bernard from Massachusetts, in favor of Hutchinson, whom Conway had been duped into believing a friend to colonial liberty. Reviving against Spain the claim for the ransom of the Manillas, they suggested in lieu of it a cession of the island of New Orleans; though the Spanish ambassador took fire at the thought, saying: "New Orleans is the key to Mexico." With equally vain endeavors, they were forming new and milder instructions for the government of Canada, in the hope to combine respect for the municipal customs and religion of its old inhabitants with the safeguards of the English criminal law. The conquest of New France subjected to England one more country, whose people had not separated from the church of Rome; and the British government was soon compelled to take initiatory steps towards Catholic emancipation. Canadians, without altering their faith, were permitted to serve as jurors; and it was proposed to make them eligible as justices of the peace and as judges. But Northington, in very ill-humor, thrust forward vague objections; and, as his colleagues persevered, he repaired to the king to advise their change.

The time was now come for the eclipse of the genius and of the glory of William Pitt. Unrelenting disease and the labors of the winter session had exhausted his little strength,

and irreparably wrecked his constitution. Had he remained out of place, and appeared at intervals in the house of commons, he would have left a name needing no careful and impartial analysis of facts for his apology. As it is, I have to record how unsuccessfully he labored to diminish the aristocratic ascendancy in England; to perpetuate colonial liberty; to rescue India from the misrule of commercial cupidity; how, as he rose to guide the destinies of a great people in the career of freedom, he appeared

Like one who had been led astray

Through the heaven's high pathless way.

Farming, grazing, haymaking, and all the charms of rural life in Somersetshire, could not obliterate from his mind the memory of days of activity, when, as he directed against the Bourbons the treasure and the hearts of the united empire, his life was the life of the British people, his will was their will, his uncompromising haughtiness the image of their pride, his presumptuous daring the only adequate expression of their self-reliance. His eager imagination bore him back to the public world, though to him it was become a riddle, which not even the wisest interpreter could solve.

While he was in this tumult of emotions, a letter was brought from the king's own hand, reminding him that his last words in the house of commons had been a declaration of freedom from party ties, and inviting him to form an independent ministry. The feeble invalid, whose infirmities inflamed his constitutional hopefulness, bounded at the summons of his sovereign, and flew, as he expressed it, "on wings of expedition, to lay at the king's feet the poor but sincere offering of the remnant of his life, body, heart, and mind."

He arrived in London on Friday, the eleventh of July, by no means well; but his feverishness only bewildered his judgment and increased his self-confidence. On Saturday, he was barely able to have a short interview with the king, and obtain consent to take the actual administration as the groundwork of his own, even though Newcastle and Rockingham should retire. True to his affections, he next invited Temple, the beloved brother of his

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wife, the head of her family, and their common benefactor, to become the first lord of the treasury. But Temple, who had connected himself with Grenville and the party of Bedford, refused to unite with the friends of Rockingham; and, having told the king "he would not go into the ministry like a child, to come out like a fool," he returned to Stowe, repeating this speech to the world, dictating a scurrilous pamphlet against his brother-in-law, and enjoying the notoriety of having been solicited to take office and been found impracticable.

The discussion with Temple and its issue aggravated the malady of Pitt. He was too ill, on the eighteenth, ^{1766.} to see the king, or even the Duke of Grafton; and _{July.} yet, passing between all the factions of the aristocracy, he proceeded to form a ministry. Grafton, to whom, on the nineteenth, he offered the treasury, without consultation went directly to Charles Townshend, by whose assiduous court and rare abilities he had been "captivated," and found him "eager to give up the paymaster's place for the office of chancellor of the exchequer," which must have seemed to him "the readiest road to the upper seat." When informed of this proposal, Pitt said every thing to dissuade him from taking such a man as his second, warning him of the many unexpected disappointments which he was preparing. But "I was weak enough, very unwisely, to persist in my desire," Grafton afterwards wrote, more anxious to manifest the integrity of his intentions than to conceal the consequences of his advice. Pitt loved to oblige those in whom he confided, and at last gave way, though much against his inclination, as well as his opinion; insisting, however, that Townshend was not to be called to the cabinet. On learning this exclusion, Townshend hesitated; but finally, on the twenty-sixth, pleading "the express commands" of the king, he acquiesced. "I sacrifice," said he, "with cheerfulness and from principle, all that men usually pursue." Affecting to trust that this merit would be acknowledged by posterity, he pledged himself, in every measure of business and every act of life, to cultivate Pitt's confidence and esteem; and to Grafton he said: "My

plan is a plan of union with your grace; words are useless; God prosper our joint labors, and may our mutual trust, affection, and friendship grow from every act of our lives." Thus he professed himself a devotee to Pitt and Grafton, being sure to do his utmost to thwart the one and to supersede the other.

The lead in the house of commons was assigned to Conway, as one of the secretaries of state; the care of America, to the Earl of Shelburne. The seals of the highest judicial office were confided to Camden, who had called taxing America, by act of parliament, a robbery; the former chancellor became president of the council; while the prime minister's own infirmities, which should have forbidden him to take office at all, made him reserve for himself the quiet custody of the privy seal. Taken as a whole, the cabinet, of which the members were Pitt, Camden, Grafton, Conway, Shelburne, and the now inactive Northington, was the most liberal that had been composed in England. "If ever a cabinet," wrote a sagacious observer, "can hope for the rare privilege of unanimity, it is this, in which Pitt will see none but persons whose imagination he has subjugated, whose premature advancement is due to his choice, whose expectations of permanent fortune rest on him alone."

Of the friends of Rockingham, Lord John Cavendish set the example of refusing to serve under Grafton; but he insisted to Conway that acts of civility would satisfy the heads of his party. At this suggestion, Pitt, on the twenty-seventh of July, went to pay Rockingham a visit of respect; and had passed the threshold, when the young chief of the great whig families refused to receive the venerable man of the people. But he was never afterwards able to resume office, except with the friends of the minister he now insulted.

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The old whig party, which in 1746 deserted the public service only to force their restoration on their own terms, which eleven years later kept England, in time of war, in a state of anarchy for ten weeks, till their demands could be satisfactorily compromised, had, in 1765, owed office to the king's favor, and now fell powerless, when left to them-

selves. The administration of Rockingham brought Cumberland into the cabinet ; took their law from Mansfield ; restored Lord George Germain to public life ; and would willingly have coalesced with Bedford. Yet a spirit of humanity ruled their intentions and pervaded their measures ; while their most pernicious errors sprung from their attempt at a compromise with the principles of their predecessors. They confirmed the rights of persons by condemning general warrants, and adhered to those friends of liberty who had run hazards in its cause. They abstained from some of the worst methods of corruption usual to their party in its earlier days ; they sold no employments and obtained no reversions. Opposed by place-men and pensioners, they had support in the increasing confidence and good-will of the nation. Still, they had entered the cabinet in violation of their essential doctrine, at the wish of the king superseding men who were dismissed only for maintaining privilege against prerogative ; and, if they mitigated taxation in America by repealing the stamp act, they boasted of having improved the revenue raised there from trade, renewed the unconstitutional method of making parliamentary requisitions on colonial assemblies, and in the declaratory act introduced into the statute-book the worst law that ever found a place there, tyrannical in principle, false in fact, and impossible in practice.

The incapacity of Pitt's new administration was apparent from its first day, when he announced to his astonished and disheartened colleagues his purpose of placing himself as the Earl of Chatham in the house of lords. During the past year, such an elevation in rank had often been suggested. He was too much "shattered" to lead the commons ; and he might wish to secure dignity for his age. But, in ceasing to be the great commoner, he veiled his superiority. "My friend," said Frederic of Prussia, on hearing of it, "has harmed himself by accepting a peerage." "It argues," said the king of Poland, "a senselessness to glory to forfeit the name of Pitt for any title." "The strength of the administration," thought all his colleagues, "lay in his remaining with the commons." "There was but one voice among

us," said Grafton, "nor, indeed, throughout the kingdom." The lion had left the forest, where he roamed as monarch, and of himself had walked into a cage. His popularity vanished, and with it the terror of his name. He was but an English earl and the shadow of a prime minister; he no longer represented the nationality of the British people. He had, moreover, offended the head of every faction, whose assistance he yet required; Camden had not the qualities of a great statesman; Grafton, on whom he leaned, was indolent and easily misled; Conway always vacillated; Shelburne, his able and sincere friend, was regarded at court with dislike; and the king agreed with his minister in nothing but the wish to humble the aristocracy.

In August, just at the time of Chatham's taking office, Choiseul, having assigned the care of the navy to his brother, had resumed that of foreign affairs. He knew the gigantic schemes of colonial conquests which Pitt had formerly harbored, and weighed the probabilities of an attempt to realize them by a new war against France and Spain. The agent whom he had sent, in 1764, on a tour of observation through the British colonies, was just returned, and reported how they abounded in corn, cattle, flax, and iron; in trees fit for masts; in pine timber, lighter than oak, easily wrought, not liable to split, and incorruptible; how the inhabitants, already numerous, and doubling their numbers every twenty years, were opulent, warlike, and conscious of their strength; how they followed the sea, especially at the north, and engaged in great fisheries; how they built annually one hundred and fifty vessels to sell in Europe and the West Indies, at the rate of seven pounds sterling the ton; and how they longed to throw off the restraints imposed on their navigation. New York stood at the confluence of two rivers, of which the East was the shelter to merchant vessels; its roadstead was a vast harbor, where a navy could ride at anchor. The large town of Philadelphia had rope-walks and busy ship-yards; manufactures of all sorts, especially of leather and of iron. In the province to which it belonged, the Presbyterians outnumbered the peaceful Quakers; and Germans, weary of

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subordination to England and unwilling to serve under English officers against France, openly declared that Pennsylvania would one day be called Little Germany. In all New England, there were no citadels, from the people's fear of their being used to compel submission to acts of parliament infringing colonial privileges. The garrison at Boston was in the service of the colony. The British troops were so widely scattered in little detachments as to be of no account. "England," reasoned the observer, "must foresee a revolution, and has hastened its epoch by emancipating the colonies from the fear of France in Canada."

Simultaneously, Choiseul read in the "Gazette" of Leyden the answer lately made by the assembly of Massachusetts to its governor, and learned with astonishment that colonies which were supposed to have no liberties but by inference spoke boldly and firmly of rights and a constitution.

Could Chatham have regained health, he would have mastered all difficulties, or fallen with dignity. Jealous of the Bourbon courts, he urged the improvement of the harbor of Pensacola, which, it was said, could shelter at least forty ships of the line, and hold in check the commerce of Vera Cruz.

The rival statesmen, with eyes fixed on America, competed for European alliances. No sooner had Chat-
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 Sept. ham entered on the ministry, than he rushed into the plan of a great northern league to balance the power of the Bourbons, and hastily invited Frederic of Prussia and Catharine of Russia to connect themselves intimately with England; but Frederic, doubting the fixedness of his ministry, put the invitation aside. Choiseul was as superior in diplomacy as his opponent had been in war; and was establishing such relations with every power of Europe that, in the event of new hostilities respecting America, France would have Spain for its partner, and no enemy but England.

Chatham grew sick at heart, as well as decrepit. To be happy, he needed the consciousness of standing well with his fellow-men; but he whose voice had been a clarion to the Protestant world no longer enjoyed popularity at home

or influence abroad or the trust of the colonies. The sense of his loneliness, on his return to power, crushed his vigor of will. He who had been most imperative in command knew not how to resolve. Once, at Grafton's earnest solicitation, Charles Townshend was permitted to attend a consultation on European alliances. The next day, Chatham, with the cheerful consent of the king, retreated to Bath; but its springs had no healing for him. He desired to control France by a northern union, and stood before Europe without one power as an ally. He loved to give the law to the cabinet, and was just admitting into it a restless intriguer, who would traverse his policy. He gloried in the unbounded confidence of his sovereign; and the king wanted nothing of him but "his name." He longed for the love of the people of England; and he had left their body for an earldom. He would have humbled the aristocracy; and "the nobility" not only "hated him," but retained strength to overwhelm him.

Yet the cause of liberty was advancing, though Chatham had gone astray. Philosophy spread the knowledge of the laws of nature. The empress of Russia with her own hand minuted an edict for universal tolerance. "Can you tell me," writes Voltaire, in October, to D'Alembert, "what will come, within thirty years, of the revolution which is taking effect in the minds of men from Naples to Moscow? I, who am too old to hope to see any thing, commend to you the age which is forming." But, though far stricken in years, Voltaire shall himself witness and applaud the greatest step in this progress; shall see insurgent colonies become a republic, and welcome before Paris and the academy of France a runaway apprentice as its envoy.

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Meantime, Choiseul dismissed from the council of his king all former theories about America, alike in policy and war; and looked more nearly into the condition of the British colonies, that his new system might rest on the surest ground.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CHARLES TOWNSHEND USURPS THE LEAD IN GOVERNMENT.
CHATHAM'S ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED.

OCTOBER, 1766—JANUARY, 1767.

THE people of Massachusetts lulled themselves into the belief that they were "restored once more" to the secure enjoyment "of their rights and liberties;" but their secret enemies, some from a lust of power, and others from an inordinate love of money, combined to obtain an American army and an American tribute, as necessary for the enforcement of the navigation acts, and even for the existence of government. When the soldiers stationed in New York had, in the night of the tenth of August, cut down the flagstaff of the citizens, the general reported the ensuing quarrel as a proof of "anarchy and confusion," and the requisiteness of troops for the support of "the laws." Yet the New York association of the Sons of Liberty had been dissolved; and all efforts to keep up "its glorious spirit" were subordinated to loyalty. "A few individuals" at Boston, having celebrated the anniversary of the outbreak against the stamp act, care was taken to report how healths had been drunk to Otis, "the American Hampden, who first proposed the congress;" "to the Virginians," who sounded the alarm to the country; to Paoli and the struggling Corsicans; to the spark of liberty that was thought to have been kindled in Spain. From Bernard, who made the restraints on commerce intolerable by claiming the legal penalty of treble forfeits from merchants whom his own long collusion had tempted to the infraction of a revenue law, came unintermitted complaints of illicit trade. At Falmouth, now Portland, an attempt to seize goods,

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under the disputed authority of writs of assistance, had been defeated by a mob; and the disturbance was made to support a general accusation against the province. At Boston, Charles Paxton, the marshal of the court of admiralty, came, with the sheriff and a similar warrant, to search the house of Daniel Malcom for a second time; but the stubborn patriot refused to open his doors, which they dared not break down, so doubtful were they of their right; and, when the altercation attracted a crowd, they withdrew, pretending to have been obstructed by a riotous assemblage. These incidents, by themselves of little moment, were secretly reported as a general rising against the execution of the laws of trade. But the cabal relied most on personal importunity; and the untiring Paxton, who had often visited England, and was known to possess as much of the friendship of Charles Townshend as a selfish client may obtain from an intriguing patron, was sent over by the colonial crown officers, with special authority to appear as the friend of Oliver and of Hutchinson.

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We are drawing near the measures which compelled the insurrection of the colonies; but all the stars in their courses were harbingers of American independence. No sooner were the prairies of Illinois in the possession of England, than Croghan, a deputy Indian agent, who from personal observation knew their value, urged their immediate colonization. Sir William Johnson, William Franklin, the royalist governor of New Jersey, several fur-traders of Philadelphia, even Gage himself, eagerly took part in a project by which they were to acquire vast estates in the most fertile valley of the world. Their proposal embraced the whole western territory bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, a line along the Wabash and Maumee to Lake Erie, and thence across Michigan, Green Bay, and the Fox River, to the mouth of the Wisconsin. The tract was thought to contain sixty-three millions of acres, the like of which could nowhere be found. Franklin favored the enterprise, which promised fortune to its undertakers, and to America some new security for a mild colonial administration. It was the wish of Shelburne, who loved to take counsel with the great phil-

osopher on the interests of humanity, that the valley of the Mississippi might be occupied by colonies enjoying English liberty. But the board of trade, to which Hillsborough had returned, insisted that emigrants to so remote regions would establish manufactures for themselves; and, in the very heart of America, found a power which distance must emancipate. They adhered, therefore, to the proclamation of 1763, and to the range of the Alleghanies as the frontier of British settlements.

But the prohibition only set apart the great valley as the sanctuary of the unhappy, the adventurous, and the free; of those whom enterprise or curiosity, or disgust at the forms of life in the old plantations, raised above royal edicts; of those who had nowhere else a home; or who would run all risks to take possession of the soil between the Alleghanies and the Ohio. The boundless west became the poor man's city of refuge, where the wilderness guarded his cabin as inviolably as the cliff or the cedar-top holds the eagle's eyrie. The few who occupied lands under grants from the crown could rely only on themselves for the protection of their property, and refused to pay quit-rents till their legal right should be acknowledged. The line of "straggling settlements" beyond the mountains extended from Pittsburg up the Monongahela and its tributaries to the banks of the Greenbriar and the New River, and to the well-known upper valley of the Holston, where the military path from Virginia led to the country of the Cherokees. Explorers or hunters went still further to the west; for it is recorded that in 1766 "eight men were killed on Cumberland River."

In North Carolina, the people along the upland frontier, many of whom had sprung from Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, suffered from the illegal exactions of sheriffs and officials, whose pillaging was supported by the whole force of government. To meet this flood of iniquity, the most approved advice came from Herman Husband, an independent farmer, who dwelt on Sandy Creek, where his fields of wheat and his "clover meadow" were the admiration of all observers. Each neighborhood throughout Orange county

came together and elected delegates to a general meeting, who were to "examine" into "abuses of power and into the public taxes, and inform themselves by what laws and for what uses they are laid."

In October, "the honest freeholders," about twelve in number, assembled on Enoe River, just outside of Hillsborough. But, to their repeated invitations to the officers to meet them, no answer came, except from Edmund Fanning. A favorite of Governor Tryon, he was at that time the representative of the county, one of its magistrates, holding the highest commission under the crown in its militia; and was amassing a fortune by oppression as an attorney and extortion as registrar, loading titles to estates with doubts, and charging illegal prices for recording deeds. He was, above all others, justly obnoxious to the people; and his message to them ran that their proposition to inquire "judiciously" looked more like an insurrection than a settlement. "We meant," replied the meeting, "no more than wisely, carefully, and soberly to examine the matter in hand." Their wrongs were flagrant and undeniable; and, since their "reasonable request" for explanations was unheeded, they resolved on "a meeting for a public and free conference yearly, and as often as the case might require," that so they might reap the profit of their right, under "the constitution, of choosing representatives and of learning what uses their money was called for." Yet how could unlettered farmers succeed against the undivided administrative power of the province? and how long would it be before some indiscretion would place them at the mercy of their oppressors? The apportionment of members of the colonial legislature was grossly unequal; the governor could create boroughs; the actual legislature, whose members were in part unwisely selected, in part unduly returned, rarely called together, and liable to be continued or dissolved at the pleasure of the executive, increased the poor man's burdens by voting an annual poll-tax to raise five thousand pounds, and the next year ten thousand more, to build a house for the governor at Newbern.

Moffat, of Rhode Island, asked of its legislature relief for

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his losses by the riot against the stamp act; founding his claim on the resolves of the British house of commons and the king's recommendation. "Neither of them," said the speaker of the assembly, "ought to influence the free and independent representatives of Rhode Island colony." Moffat had leave to withdraw his first petition and substitute an inoffensive one, which was received, but referred to a future session.

In Boston, the general court received like petitions. The form of its answer was suggested by Joseph Hawley, the member for Northampton. He was the only son of a schoolmaster, himself married, but childless; a very able lawyer, of whose singular disinterestedness his native town still preserves the tradition. Content with a small patrimony, he lived in frugal simplicity; closing his house door by a latch, without either bar or bolt. Inclined by temperament to moods of melancholy, his mind would again kindle with a brighter lustre, and be borne onwards by resistless impulses. All parties revered his purity of life and ardent piety; and no man in his neighborhood equalled him in the public esteem. He opposed relief, except on condition of a general amnesty. "Of those seeking compensation," said he, "the chief is a person of unconstitutional principles, as one day or other he will make appear." The resolves of parliament were cited in reply. "The parliament of Great Britain," retorted Hawley, "has no right to legislate for us." At these words, Otis, rising in his place, bowed, and thanked him, saying: "He has gone further than I myself have as yet done in this house." It was the first time that the power of parliament had been totally denied in a colonial legislature. "No representation, no taxation," had become a very common expression; the colonies were beginning to cry: "No representation, no legislation." Having never shown bitterness of party spirit, Hawley readily carried the assembly with him, from their great opinion of his understanding and integrity; and a bill was framed, "granting compensation to the sufferers and pardon to the offenders," even to the returning of the fines which had been paid. A recess was taken, that mem-

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bers might consult their constituents. Before the adjournment, complaint was made of the new zeal of Bernard in enforcing the navigation acts and sending to England injurious affidavits secretly taken. "I knew the time," interposed a member, "when the house would have readily assisted the governor in executing the laws of trade." "The times," replied Otis, "are altered; we now know our rights."

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Meantime, Shelburne sought to recover the affections of the colonies by acquiring and deserving their confidence. "Assure the assembly of Massachusetts," he said with "frankness" to their correspondent, "they may be perfectly easy about the enjoyment of their rights and privileges under the present administration." He enjoined moderation on every governor, and was resolved to make no appointments but of men of "the most generous principles." Through a letter to Bernard, whom he directed to pursue conciliatory measures, he invited the colonial legislature of itself to fall upon measures for terminating all local difficulties. The country people, as they read his words, agreed with one another that the compensation which he recommended should be made. "The king," said they, "has asked this of us as a favor; it would be ungenerous to refuse."

On the reassembling of the legislature, Hawley's bill prevailed by large majorities; yet it was also voted that the sufferers had no just claim on the province, that the grant was of their own "free and good will," and not from deference to "a requisition." The governor assented to an act in which a colonial legislature exercised the prerogative of clemency; and Hutchinson, saying, "Beggars must not be choosers," gave thanks at the bar of the house. But he treasured up the feeling of revenge; and the next year, taking offence at some explanatory publication by Hawley, expelled him arbitrarily from the bar of the superior court.

The patriots of New England did not doubt Shelburne's attention to its interests and respect for its liberties; but they were exquisitely sensitive to every thing like an admission that the power of taxing them resided in parlia-

ment. Bernard was rebuked, because, with consent of council, he had caused the billeting act to be printed by the printer of the colony laws; and had made that act his warrant for furnishing supplies at the colony's expense to two companies of artillery, who, in stress of weather, had put into Boston. Otis attributed the taxing of America by parliament to Bernard's advice. The jealous legislature dismissed Richard Jackson from the service of the province; and the house elected the honest but aged Dennys de Berdt as its own particular agent.

This is the time from which Hutchinson dated the revolt of the colonies; and his correspondence and advice conformed to the opinion. Samuel Adams divined the evil designs, now so near their execution. He instructed De Berdt to oppose the apprehended establishment of a military force in America, as needless for protection and dangerous to liberty. "Certainly," said he, "the best way for Great Britain to make her colonies a real and lasting benefit is to give them all consistent indulgence in trade, and to remove any occasion of their suspecting that their liberties are in danger. While any act of parliament is in force which has the least appearance of a design to raise a revenue out of them, their jealousy will be awake."

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At the same time, he wrote to the patriot most like himself, Christopher Gadsden, of South Carolina, inquiring whether the billeting act "is not taxing the colonies as effectually as the stamp act;" and protesting against a standing army, especially in a time of peace, as in every respect dangerous to the civil community. "Surely," said he, "we cannot consent to their quartering among us; and how hard is it for us to be obliged to pay our money to subsist them!" Gadsden had already met patriots of South Carolina under the Live Oak, which was named their Tree of Liberty; had set before them the declaratory act, explained to them their rights, and leagued with them to oppose all foreign taxation.

At New York, the soldiery continued to irritate the people by insolent language, and by once more cutting down their flagstaff. Shelburne sought to reconcile their as-

sembly to obedience to the billeting act, holding forth hope of a change of the law on a well-grounded representation of its hardship; and a prudent governor could have avoided a collision. But Moore was chiefly bent on establishing a play-house, against the wishes of the Presbyterians; and his thoughtless frivolity drove the house to a categorical conflict with the act of parliament, when they had really as an act of their own made "provision for quartering two battalions and one company of artillery." Their prudence secured unanimity in the assembly and among their constituents. In New York, as well as over all North America, the act declaratory of the absolute power of parliament was met by "the principle of the supreme power of the people in all cases whatsoever."

In England, a spirit was rising very different from that which had prevailed in the previous winter. "So long as I am in office," said Charles Townshend, on the floor of the house of commons, "the authority of the laws shall not be trampled upon." He did not fear to flatter the king, and court Grenville and Bedford; for Chatham was incurring the hatred of every branch of the aristocracy. Eight or nine whigs resigned their employments, on account of his headstrong removal of Lord Edgecombe from an unimportant post. Saunders and Keppel left the admiralty, and Keppel's place fell to Jenkinson. The Bedford party knew the weakness of the English Ximenes, and scorned his moderate bid for their support; but the king cheered him on "to rout out" the grandees of England, now
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"banded together." "Their unions," said Chatham, "give me no terrors;" "the king is firm, and there is nothing to fear."

To Shelburne, who was charged with the care of the colonies, he gave his confidence and his support. He claimed for the supreme government the right of dominion over the conquests in India, and the disposition of its territorial revenue; and, as Townshend crossed his plans by leaning to the East India company, he proposed to Grafton the dismissal of Townshend as "incurable." Burke indulged in sarcasm at "the great person, so immeasurably high." as

not to be reached by argument, and travestied the litany in a solemn invocation to "the minister above." And the next day, in the house of lords, Chatham marked his contempt of all such mockery by saying to the Duke of Richmond: "When the people shall condemn me, I shall tremble; but I will set my face against the proudest connection of this country." "I hope," cried Richmond, "the nobility will not be browbeaten by an insolent minister;" and Chatham retorted the charge of insolence.

But it was the last time during his ministry that he appeared in the house of lords. His broken health was unequal to the conflict which he had invited. On the eighteenth of December, he repaired to Bath, with a nervous system so weak that he was easily fluttered and moved to tears; yet still he sent to the representatives of Massachusetts his friendly acknowledgment of their vote of gratitude.

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Townshend saw his opportunity, and no longer concealed his intention. Knowing the king's dislike of Shelburne, he took advantage of his own greater age, his authority as the ablest orator in the house of commons, his long acquaintance with American affairs, and the fact that they turned chiefly on questions of finance, to assume their direction. His ambition deceived him into the hope of succeeding where Grenville had failed; and in concert with Paxton, from Boston, he was devising a scheme for a board of customs in America, and duties to be collected in its ports. He would thus obtain an American fund for a civil list, and concentrate the power of government, where Grenville looked only for revenue. He expected his dismissal, if Chatham regained health; and he also saw the clearest prospect of advancement by setting his colleagues at defiance. He therefore prepared to solve the questions of Asia and America in his own way, and trod the ground which he had chosen with fearless audacity. On the twenty-sixth of January, the house of commons, in committee of supply, considered the estimates for the land forces and garrisons in the plantations. Grenville seized the occasion to declaim on the repeal of the stamp act. He enforced the necessity

of relieving Great Britain from a burden which the colonies ought to bear, and which with contingencies exceeded four hundred thousand pounds; reminding the country gentlemen that this sum was nearly equal to one shilling in the pound of the land-tax. He spoke elaborately, and against Chatham was even more rancorous than usual.

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“Administration,” replied Townshend, “has applied its attention to give relief to Great Britain from bearing the whole expense of securing, defending, and protecting America and the West India Islands; I shall bring into the house some propositions that I hope may tend, in time, to ease the people of England upon this head, and yet not be heavy in any manner upon the people in the colonies. I know the mode by which a revenue may be drawn from America without offence.” As he spoke, the house shook with applause; “hear him!” “hear him!” now swelling loudest from his own side, now from the benches of the opposition. “I am still,” he continued, “a firm advocate for the stamp act, for its principle, and for the duty itself, only the heats which prevailed made it an improper time to press it. I laugh at the absurd distinction between internal and external taxes. I know no such distinction. It is a distinction without a difference; it is perfect nonsense; if we have a right to impose the one, we have a right to impose the other; the distinction is ridiculous in the opinion of every body except the Americans.” Looking up where the colony agents usually sat, he added with emotion: “I speak this aloud, that all you who are in the galleries may hear me; and, after this, I do not expect to have my statue erected in America.” Then, laying his hand on the table in front of him, he declared to the house: “England is undone, if this taxation of America is given up.”

Grenville at once demanded of him to pledge himself to his declaration: he did so most willingly; and his promise received a tumultuous welcome.

Lord George Sackville pressed for a revenue that should be adequate; and Townshend engaged himself to the house to find a revenue, if not adequate, yet nearly sufficient to

meet the military expenses, when properly reduced. The loud burst of rapture dismayed Conway, who sat in silent astonishment at the unauthorized but premeditated rashness of his presumptuous colleague.

The next night, the cabinet questioned the insubordinate minister, "how he had ventured to depart, on so essential a point, from the profession of the whole ministry;" and he browbeat them all. "I appeal to you," said he, turn-

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Not one of the ministry then in London had sufficient authority to advise his dismissal; and nothing less could have stopped his measures.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE BRITISH ARISTOCRACY REDUCE THEIR OWN TAXES.
 DEFEAT OF CHATHAM'S ADMINISTRATION BY THE MOSAIC
 OPPOSITION.

JANUARY—MARCH, 1767.

THE day after Townshend braved his colleagues, the legislature of Massachusetts convened. Hutchinson, having received his compensation as a sufferer by the riots, restrained his ambition no longer, and took a seat in the council as though it of right belonged to the lieutenant-governor. The house resented his intrusion into an elective body of which he had not been chosen a member. The council, by a unanimous vote, denied his pretensions. The language of the charter was too explicit to admit of a doubt; yet Bernard urged the interposition of the central government.

With unshaken confidence in Hawley, Otis, and Samuel Adams, the people scanned every measure that could imply consent to British taxation. When the governor professed, "in pursuance of the late act of parliament," to have made provision at the colony's expense for troops which had recently touched at Boston harbor, they did not cease their complaints till they wrung from him the declaration that his supply "did not include articles prescribed by that act," but was "wholly conformable to the usage of the province." Upon this concession, the house acquiesced in an expenditure which no longer compromised their rights; and declared their readiness to grant of their own free accord such aids as the king's service should require.

By the authority of the same act of parliament, Gage

demanded quarters for one hundred and fifty-eight recruits, of the governor of Connecticut ; but that magistrate refused compliance till he should be duly authorized by the colonial assembly.

To check every aspiration after independence, Carleton, the able governor of Canada, advised to grant no legislative immunities to its people ; to keep Crown Point and Ticonderoga in good repair ; to have a citadel and place of arms in New York, as well as a citadel in Quebec ; and to link the two provinces so strongly together that, on the commencement of an outbreak, ten or fifteen thousand men could be moved without delay from the one to the other, or to any part of the continent. No pains, no address, no expense, he insisted, would be too great for the object, which would divide the northern and southern colonies, as well as secure the public magazines.

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Chatham, who wished to keep the affections of the colonists, could not suspend the act of parliament ; but, through Shelburne, he enjoined the American commander in chief to make its burden as light, both in appearance and in reality, as was consistent with the public service. He saw that the imperfect compliance of New York would open a fair field to the arraigners of America ; and, between his opinions as a statesman and his obligations as minister, he knew not what to propose. The declaratory act was as a barren fruit-tree, which, though fair to the eye, only cumpers the earth, and spreads a noxious shade.

Shelburne was aware also that, if the Americans "should be tempted to resist in the last instance," France and Spain would no longer defer breaking the peace of which they began to number the days. Spain was resolved not to pay the Manila ransom, was planning how to drive the English from the Falkland Islands, and called on France to prepare to go to war in two years ; "for Spain," said Grimaldi, "cannot longer postpone inflicting chastisement on English insolence." "This is the rhodomontade of a Don Quixote," said the French minister ; and Choiseul resolved not to disturb the peace.

Executive moderation might still have saved England

from a conflict. Impressed with the necessity of giving up trifles that created uneasiness, Shelburne proceeded diligently to make himself master of each American question, and to prepare its solution. The subject of the greatest consequence was the forming an American fund. To this end, without exercising rigor in respect to quit-rents long due, he proposed to break up the system of forestalling lands by speculators, to require that the engrossing proprietors should fulfil the conditions of their grants, and to make all future grants on a system of quit-rents, which should be applied to defray the American expenses then borne by the exchequer of Great Britain.

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Relief to the mother country being thus derived from an income which had chiefly been squandered among favorites, he proposed to leave the Indian trade to be regulated under general rules by the respective provinces, at their own cost.

Resisting those who advised to concentrate the American army in the principal towns, he wished it disposed on the frontiers, where its presence might be desired.

The people of America, even a majority of those who adhered to the church of England, feared an American episcopate, lest ecclesiastical courts should follow; Shelburne expressed his opinion openly that there was no occasion for American bishops.

He reprobated the political dependence of the judges in the colonies; and advised that their commissions should conform to the usage in England.

The grants of lands in Vermont, under the seal of New Hampshire, he confirmed; and this decision was not less wise than just.

Massachusetts and New York had a controversy about limits, which had led to disputed land-titles and bloodshed on the border: instead of keeping the question open as a means of setting one colony against another, he directed that it should be definitively settled.

The billeting act for America, which the Rockingham ministry had continued till the twenty-fourth of March, 1768, was contrary to the whole tenor of British legislation for Ireland, and to all former legislation for America

Shelburne disapproved its principle, and sought to reconcile the wants of the army with the rights of America; being resolved "not to establish a precedent, which might hereafter be turned to purposes of oppression."

The American continent was interested in the settlement of Canadian affairs; Shelburne listened to the hope of establishing tranquillity, by calling an assembly that should assimilate to the English laws such of the French laws as it was necessary to retain, and by rendering the Canadian Catholics eligible to the assembly and council.

But the more Shelburne showed his good disposition towards America, the more the court spoke of him as "an enemy." The king was accustomed "to talk a great deal about America;" and he told Shelburne plainly that the billeting act "should be enforced," though he declined "to suggest the mode." Besides, the dependence of the colonies was believed to be at stake; and New York "underwent the imputation of rebellion."

1767. The difficulties that beset Shelburne were increased
Feb. by the condition of parties in Great Britain. The old whig aristocracy was passing out of power, with so ill a grace that they preferred the immediate gratification of their passions to every consideration of wisdom and expediency. America was the theme in all companies, yet was discussed according to its bearings on personal ambition. Men struggled for a momentary victory more than for any system of government; and the liberties of two millions of their countrymen, the interests of a continent, the unity of the British empire, were swayed by the accidents of a parliamentary skirmish.

Merchants of New York had sent a very temperate petition, setting forth some of the useless grievances of the acts of trade, and praying for the free exportation of their lumber and an easier exchange of products with the West Indies. Grenville and his friends appealed to the reasonable request as fresh evidence that nothing would give satisfaction to the colonists but a repeal of all restrictions on trade, and freedom from all subordination and dependence. Besides, Townshend, whom Chatham had thrice

denounced to Grafton as "incurable," was more and more inclined to the same views.

At this critical conjuncture, when nothing but Chatham's presence could restore activity to the administration and draw parliament from its lethargy, the gout had returned upon him at Marlborough, on his way to London. But business would not wait. On the eighteenth of February, there appeared in the account of the extraordinaries, a large and unusual expenditure on the continent of America. Grenville advised to lessen the expense, and charge upon the colonies the whole of what should remain. There was a general agreement that America ought to alleviate the burdens of England. Every speaker of the opposition directly inveighed against Chatham, whom no one rose to defend. Rigby, stinging the self-love of the ministers, reproached them with being but the servile instruments of their absent chief; incapable of acting but on orders from his lips. To prove his independence, Townshend explained his own system for America, and combated Chatham's of the year before. "I would govern the Americans," said he, "as subjects of Great Britain. I would restrain their trade and their manufactures as subordinate to the mother country. These, our children, must not make themselves our allies in time of war, and our rivals in peace." And he concluded by adopting substantially the suggestions of Grenville in favor of retrenchment and an American duty. None heeded the milder counsels of Conway. The mosaic opposition watched every opportunity to push the ministry upon extreme measures. A week later, Camden, who had pledged himself "to maintain to his last hour that taxation and representation are inseparable," that taxation without representation is a "robbery," proclaimed as loudly "that his doubt respecting the right of parliament to tax America was removed by the declaration of parliament, whose authority must be maintained."

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Feb.

By this time, the friends of Grenville, of Bedford, and of Rockingham, men the most embittered against each other by former contests, and the most opposite in character and tendencies, were ready to combine against the existing

ministry, whatever might be the consequence of its destruction. During the war, and ever since, the land-tax had been at the nominal rate of four shillings in the pound, in reality at but about ninepence in the pound. On the twenty-seventh of February, Dowdeswell, the leader of the Rockingham party, regardless of his own policy when in the treasury and his knowledge of the public wants, proposed a reduction in the land-tax, nominally of a shilling, but really of only about nine farthings in the pound. Grenville, with more consistency, supported the proposal, which, it was generally admitted, must bring in its train a tax on the colonies. The question was debated between the Americans and the landed interest of England; and the chancellor of the exchequer was reminded of his pledge to derive this year some revenue from America. On the division, Edmund Burke, "too fond of the right" to vote against his conscience, and not enough fond of it to vote against his party, stayed away; the united factions of the aristocracy mustered two hundred and six against one hundred and eighty-eight for the ministry. But not one of those who planned this impolitic act derived from it any advantage. The good sense of the country condemned it; the city dreaded the wound given to public credit; Grenville, who joyfully accepted the congratulations of the country gentlemen, deceived himself in expecting a junction with Rockingham, and did not moderate the enmity of the king. The ancient whig connection, which still claimed to represent the party of liberty, by creating an apparent excuse for American taxes, only doomed itself more surely to a fruitless opposition. For so small a benefit as a reduction of nine farthings in the pound on but one year's rental, and for a barren parliamentary triumph, it compromised its principles and risked a continent.

1767.
March. This was the first overthrow, on an important question, which the government had sustained for a quarter of a century. On hearing the news, Chatham rose from his bed, and, ill as he was, hastened to London. Charles Townshend "was warm in the sunshine of majesty;" but, as Chatham wished to dismiss him, the king readily

assented ; and Lord North was invited to become chancellor of the exchequer. Townshend knew well what was passing ; and, in the debates on the East India question, with easy confidence gave a defiance. " I expect to be dismissed for it," said he, openly ; but Lord North would not venture to supersede him. Whom will Chatham next recommend ? asked the king, through Grafton ; and no other could be named. This was a new humiliation. Chatham saw the shaft which his enfeebled hand hurled at a defenceless adversary fall harmless at his own feet. He could endure no more. " We cannot remain in office together," said he of Townshend ; and he bade the Duke of Grafton call the next council at his own house. The accumulation of grief destroyed what little of health remained to him ; he withdrew from business, and became invisible even to Camden and to Grafton. Here, in fact, his administration was at an end. Transmitting to his substitute every question of domestic, foreign, and colonial policy unsettled, the British Agamemnon retired to his tent, leaving subordinate chiefs to quarrel for the direction.

1767.
March.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PARLIAMENT WILL HAVE AN AMERICAN ARMY AND AN AMERICAN REVENUE. CHARLES TOWNSHEND'S SUPREMACY IN THE ADMINISTRATION.

MARCH—JULY, 1767.

THE eclipse of Chatham left Charles Townshend the lord of the ascendant. He was a man of wonderful endowments, dashed with follies and indiscretion. Impatient of waiting, his ruling passion was present success. He was for ever carried away by the immediate object of his desires; now hurried into expenses beyond his means, now clutching at the phantoms of the stock market or speculations in America. In social circles, he was so fond of taking the lead that, to make sport for his companions, he had no friendship which he would not wound, no love which he would not caricature. In the house of commons, his brilliant oratory took its inspiration from the prevailing excitement; and careless of consistency, heedless whom he deserted or whom he joined, he followed the floating indications of the loudest cheers. Applause was the temptation which he had no power to resist. Gay, volatile, and fickle, he lived for the hour and shone for the hour, without the thought of founding an enduring name. Finding Chatham not likely to reappear, his lively imagination was for ever devising schemes to realize his own ambitious views; and he turned to pay the greatest court wherever political appearances were most inviting.

1767. In the cabinet meeting held on the twelfth of March
March. at the house of Grafton, Townshend assumed to dictate to the ministry its colonial policy, and threatened to appeal from its opinion to the house. A letter from Shelburne urged

Chatham to remove Townshend; but Chatham was too ill to do so, or to give advice to his colleague. Shelburne continued, therefore, to protect American liberty as well as he could, but was powerless to control events, and had no support; for Grafton and even Camden yielded to Townshend's impetuosity.

The disappearance of Chatham reanimated the dissatisfied factions of the aristocracy; Rockingham gave assurances that his friends, without whom, he persuaded himself, nothing could be carried by the Bedfords, would not join in any thing severe against America; but he was all the while contributing to the success of the policy which he most abhorred. Since the last winter, America had lost friends both in and out of parliament. Conway, who kept his old ground, was only laughed at. "He is below low-water mark," said Townshend to Grenville.

On the thirtieth of March, two days after news had arrived that in one of their messages the representatives of Massachusetts had given a formal defiance to parliament, as well as encouraged the resistance of their sister colony, New York, to the billeting act, the American papers which Bedford had demanded were taken into consideration by the house of lords. Camden opened the discussion by declaring New York to be in a state of delinquency; and, receding from his old opinions, he justified his change. Grafton said well that "the present question was too serious for faction," and promised that the ministers would themselves bring forward a suitable measure. But the lords wearied themselves all that day and all the next in scolding at the colonies with indiscriminate bitterness. They were called "undutiful, ungracious, and unthankful;" "rebels," "traitors," were epithets liberally bestowed. Some wished to make of New York an example that might terrify all the others; it was more generally proposed by act of parliament to remodel the government of them all. America had not yet finished the statues which it was raising to Chatham; and Mauduit artfully sent over word that the plan for reducing America would be sanctioned by his name.

1767.
April.

On the tenth of April, Massachusetts was selected for censure ; and Bedford, notwithstanding the sudden death of a son, who left infant children, and one of the loveliest women in England a heart-broken widow to weep herself to death for sorrow, came to the house of lords to move an address that the king in council would declare the Massachusetts act of amnesty null and void. The ministry contended truly that the motion was needless, as the act would be rejected in the usual course of business. "Perhaps we had best look into the Massachusetts charter before we come to a decision," said one of the administration. "No!" cried Lord Townshend ; "let us deliberate no longer ; let us act with vigor now, while we can call the colonies ours. If you do not, they will very soon be lost for ever."

^{1767.}
April. Lord Mansfield spoke in the same strain, descanting "upon the folly and wickedness of the American incendiaries," and drawing an animated picture of the fatal effects to England and to the colonies which the "deplorable event of their disjunction must produce."

All that he said carried conviction to the house of lords, and hastened the event which he deprecated. In the six hours' debate, the resistance of New York and Massachusetts had been so highly colored that Choiseul began to think the time for the great American insurrection was come. He resolved, therefore, to send an emissary across the Atlantic, and selected for that purpose the brave and upright Kalb. A Protestant and a German, son of a peasant who dwelt in the old land of the Franks, not far from Erlangen, he had gained in the service of France an honorable name and the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel. His written instructions, dated on the twenty-second of April, enjoined him, after preliminary inquiries at Amsterdam, to go to the English colonies ; to ascertain their wants, in respect of engineers and artillery officers, munitions of war and provisions ; the strength of their purpose to withdraw from the British government ; their resources in troops, citadels, and intrenched posts ; their project of revolt, and their chiefs.

"The commission which I give you," said Choiseul, "is

difficult, and demands intelligence. Ask of me the means which you think necessary for its execution ; I will furnish you with them all." In October, Kalb sailed from London ; and, after a terrible passage of a hundred and nine days, he landed at Philadelphia, bringing to his work close observation, cautious judgment, and industry, but not the sagacity which could measure the movement of a revolution.

On the other hand, his employer suffered his hopes to run ahead of realities ; for a Frenchman could not compute the power of Anglo-American forbearance ; but, from this time, Choiseul sought in every quarter accurate accounts of the progress of opinion in America, alike in the writings of Franklin, the reports current among the best-informed merchants, and in New England sermons, from which curious extracts are to this day preserved among the state papers of France. His judgment on events, though biassed by national hatred, was more impartial and clear than that of any British minister who succeeded Shelburne.

We are arrived at the last moment in American affairs, when it still seemed easy to postpone revolution ; and must pause to ask after the points in issue. As yet they were trifling. The late solemn deliberation of the peers was but a frivolous cavilling on the form of a royal veto.

1767.
April.

The people of Massachusetts, seeing a disposition to mar its charter and use military power in its government, needed more than ever an agent in England. Bernard insisted that no one should receive that appointment without his approval, and repeatedly negatived the dismissal of the last incumbent. But Shelburne held that the right of nomination should rest essentially with the representatives, so that this dispute could not become serious while he remained in the ministry.

The lieutenant-governor, in spite of his want of an election, had taken a seat in the council, pleading the charter as his warrant for doing so ; but the attorney-general in England, to whom the case was referred, was of opinion that "the right could not be claimed by virtue of any thing contained in the charter or the constitution of the province."

Bernard gave out that, by the use of his veto, he would

always keep places open in the council for Hutchinson and Oliver. The menace was a violation of the spirit of the constitution; its only effect was to preserve two perpetual vacancies in the council.

The council itself Bernard advised to alter from an elective body to one of royal nomination. The change would have been an act of aggression, and an unwarranted breach of faith; for no council had more uniformly shown loyalty than that of Massachusetts. Hutchinson at heart
 1767.
 April. disapproved of the measure which from personal motives he advocated. The perfidious advice would be harmless, if England would only respect the charter which nearly a century's possession had confirmed.

There remained no grounds of imminent variance except the navigation acts, the billeting act, the acts restraining industry, and the slave-trade.

To the slave-trade Virginia led the opposition. Towns at the north, especially Worcester, in Massachusetts, protested against the system; but opinion through the country was divided; and complaints of the grievance had not been made in concert.

The restraints on manufactures, especially of wool and iron, were flagrant violations of natural rights; but they were not of recent date, and, as they related to products of industry which it was still the interest of the people to import, were in a great degree inoperative and unobserved.

By the billeting act, Great Britain exposed its dignity to the discretion or the petulance of provincial assemblies. There was no bound to the impropriety of parliament's enacting what those legislatures should enact, and accompanying the statute by a requisition from the throne. Is the measure compulsory and final? Then why address it to assemblies which are not executive officers? Does it not compel obedience? Then the assemblies have a right to deliberate, to accept in whole or in part, or to reject. And, indeed, the demand of quarters and provisions, without limitation of time or of the number of troops, was a reasonable subject for deliberation. Such was the opinion of the very few in England who considered the question on its merits,

and not as a test of authority. Besides, no province had refused to comply with the spirit of the act. A slight modification, leaving some option to the colonies, would have remedied this disagreement.

The navigation acts were a source of just and ever increasing discontent. But no public body in America had denied their validity; nor was there any reluctance to subordinate American commerce to the general interests of the empire; the relaxations which America most desired were very moderate, relating chiefly to intercourse with the West Indies, and the free export of such of its products as Great Britain would not receive. The illicit trade was partly owing to useless laws, but more to the prevailing corruption among the servants of the crown. No practical question existed, except that which Otis had raised, on the legality of the writs of assistance first issued by Hutchinson; and the attorney and solicitor general of England confirmed his opinion that they were not warranted by law.

1767.
April.

“In America,” said the calm Andrew Eliot, of Boston, “the people glory in the name, and only desire to enjoy the liberties of Englishmen.” “Nothing could influence us to desire independence but such attempts on our liberties as I hope Great Britain will be just enough never to make. Oppression makes wise men mad.”

To tranquillize America, no more was wanting than a respect for its rights, and some accommodation to its confirmed habits and opinions. The colonies had, each of them, a direction of its own and a character of its own, which required to be harmoniously reconciled with the motion impressed upon it by the imperial legislature. But this demanded study, self-possession, and candor. The parliament of that day esteemed itself the absolute master of America; and, recognising no reciprocity of obligations, it thought nothing so wrong as thwarting its will. A good system would have been a consummate work of deliberative wisdom; the principle of despotic government acted with more speed and uniformity, having passion for its interpreter, and a statesman like Townshend to execute its impulses.

The committee of American merchants and friends to the colonies, with Trecothick at its head, interposed with Townshend; but he answered: "I do not in the least doubt the right of parliament to tax the colonies internally; I know no difference between internal or external taxes; yet, since the Americans are pleased to make that distinction, I am willing to indulge them, and for that reason choose to confine myself to regulations of trade, by which a sufficient revenue may be raised." "Perhaps the army," rejoined Trecothick, "may with safety be withdrawn from America, in which case the expense will cease, and then there will be no further occasion for a revenue." "I will hear nothing on that subject," such was Townshend's peremptory declaration; "the moment a resolution shall be taken to withdraw the army, I will resign my office and have no more to do in public affairs. I insist it is absolutely necessary to keep up a large army there and here. An American army, and consequently an American revenue, are essential; but I am willing to have both in the manner most easy to the people."

1767.
May.

On the thirteenth of May, Townshend came to the house of commons, in the flush of his reputation and the consciousness of his supremacy. When the resolutions for the stamp act were voted, parliament was unenlightened. Now it had had the experience of taxing America, and of repealing the tax through fear of civil war. What is done now cannot easily be revoked. A secret consciousness prevailed that a great wrong was about to be inflicted. The liberty and interests of America were at issue; and yet the doors of the house of commons were, by special order, shut against every agent of the colonies, and even against every American merchant.

Townshend opened the debate with professions of candor and the air of a man of business. Exculpating alike Pennsylvania and Connecticut, he named, as delinquent colonies, Massachusetts, which had invaded the king's prerogative by a general amnesty, and, in a message to its governor, had used expressions in derogation of the authority of parliament; Rhode Island, which had postponed, but not refused

an indemnity to the sufferers by the stamp act; and New Jersey, which had evaded the billeting act, but had yet furnished the king's troops with every essential thing to their perfect satisfaction. Against these colonies it was not necessary to institute severe proceedings. But New York, in the month of June last, beside appointing its own commissary, had limited its supplies to two regiments, and to those articles only which were provided in the rest of the king's dominions; and, in December, had refused to do more. Here was such clear evidence of a direct denial of the authority of parliament, and such overt acts of disobedience to one of its laws, that an immediate interposition was most strongly called for, as well to secure the just dependence of the province as to maintain the majesty and authority of government.

It became parliament not to engage in controversy with its colonies, but to assert its sovereignty, without uniting them in a common cause. For this end, he proposed to proceed against New York, and against New York alone. To levy a local tax would be to accept a penalty in lieu of obedience. He should therefore move that New York, having disobeyed parliament, should be restrained from any legislative act of its own, till it should comply.

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May.

He then brought forward the establishment of a board of commissioners of the customs, to be stationed in America.

"Our right of taxation," he continued, "is indubitable; yet, to prevent mischief, I was myself in favor of repealing the stamp act. But there can be no objections to port duties on wine, oil, and fruits, if allowed to be carried to America directly from Spain and Portugal; on glass, paper, lead, and colors; and especially on tea. Owing to the high charges in England, America has supplied itself with tea by smuggling it from the Dutch possessions; to remedy this, duties hitherto levied upon it in England are to be given up, and a specific duty collected in America itself. A duty on china can be obtained by repealing the drawback. On salt it was at first intended to lay an impost; but this is abandoned, from the difficulty of adjusting the drawback to be allowed

on exports of cured fish and provisions, and on salt for the fisheries."

The American revenue, it was further explained, was to be placed at the disposal of the king for the payment of his civil officers. To each governor, an annual salary was to be assigned of two thousand pounds sterling; to each chief justice, of five hundred pounds.

The minister was to have the irresponsible power of establishing by sign manual a general civil list in every American province, and at his pleasure to grant salaries and pensions, limited only by the amount of the American revenue; the national exchequer was to receive no more than the crumbs that fell from his table. The proposition bore on its face the mark of owing its parentage to the holders and patrons of American offices; and yet it was received in the house with general favor. Richard Jackson was not regarded, when he spoke against the duties themselves, and foretold the mischiefs that would ensue.

Grenville heard with malignant joy one of the repealers of his stamp act propose a revenue from port duties. "You are deceived," said he; "I tell you, you are deceived. The Americans will laugh at you for your distinctions." He spoke against legalizing a direct trade between Portugal and America. As to taxes, he demanded more; all that were promised were trifles. "I," said he, "will tell the
 1767.
 May. honorable gentleman of a revenue that will produce something valuable in America: issue paper bearing interest upon loan there, and apply the interest as you think proper."

Townshend, perceiving that the suggestion pleased the house, stood up again, and said that that was a proposition of his own; the bill for it was already prepared.

The debate would not have continued long, if there had not been a division of opinion as to the mode of coercing New York. Edmund Burke, approving a local tax on importations into that province, opposed the general system. "You will never see a single shilling from America," said he, prophetically; "it is not by votes and angry resolutions of this house, but by a slow and steady conduct that the Amer-

icans are to be reconciled to us." Dowdeswell described the new plan as worse than to have softened and enforced the stamp-tax. "Do like the best of physicians," said Beckford, who alone seemed to understand the subject, and whom nobody minded; "heal the disease by doing nothing."

Others thought there should be an amendment to the billeting act itself, directing the civil magistrates to quarter upon private houses, where the assemblies of America did not fulfil the present requirements. Grenville advised to invest the governor and council of each colony with power to draw on the colonial treasurer, who, in case of refusal to answer such bills out of the first aids in his hands, howsoever appropriated, should be judged guilty of a capital crime and be tried and punished in England. And, since the colonies persisted in the denial of the parliamentary right of taxation, he offered for consideration that every American, before entering into office, should subscribe a political test nearly in the words of the declaratory act, acknowledging the unlimited sovereignty of Great Britain.

These several points were discussed till one in the morning, when a question was so framed by Grenville that the Rockinghams could join him in the division; but their united voices were no more than ninety-eight against one hundred and eighty.

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May.

"The new measures for the colonies," observed Choiseul, "meet with opposition in both houses of parliament; but their execution will encounter still more considerable resistance in America."

On the fifteenth, Townshend reported his resolutions to the house, when a strenuous effort was made to have them recommitted; the friends of Rockingham pretending to wish a more lenient measure, yet joining with Grenville, who spoke for one more severe, effective, and general. But Townshend, by surpassing eloquence, brought the house back to his first resolutions, which were adopted without a division.

Grenville then moved that many of the colonies denied and oppugned the sovereignty of Great Britain; in other words, were in a state of open rebellion; and wished that they

might be reduced to submission by force ; but a large majority was against him. In the midst of one of his speeches, the implacable man stopped short, and, looking up to the gallery, said : " I hope there are no American agents present ; I must hold such language as I would not have them hear." " I have expressly ordered the sergeant to admit none," said the speaker, " and you may be assured there are none present." Yet Johnson, of Connecticut, had braved the danger of an arrest, and sat in the gallery to record the incidents of the evening for the warning of his countrymen. Grenville next moved his test for America ; but the house dreaded to reproduce a union of the colonies. " At least, then," renewed Grenville, " take some notice of those in America who have suffered for their loyal support of your sovereignty ;" and, naming Ingersoll, Hutchinson, Oliver, Howard, and others, he moved an address in their favor ; and this, being seconded by Lord North, passed without dissent.

After ordering the bill to disfranchise New York, as well as sanctioning the new system of colonial revenue and administration, the house rose ; unconscious that it had taken steps which pride would not allow to be recalled, and which, if not retracted, would unite the colonies for independence.

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May.

The bitterness against America grew with its indulgence. On the twenty-first, news came that Georgia had refused compliance with the billeting act ; and this, from a colony that had been established at the public expense, was held to be " unexampled insolence." The secretary at war, therefore, as if to insure confusion, introduced a bill, extending the obnoxious law a year beyond the time when it would have expired by its own limitation.

The moment was inviting to the opposition. Raising some trivial questions on the form in which the amnesty act of Massachusetts had been disallowed, the united factions of Rockingham, Bedford, and Temple on one division left the ministry a majority of but six, and on another of but three.

On both these occasions, the king made two of his broth-

ers vote with the ministry. He wished to enforce the absolute authority of parliament in America, and to consummate his victory over the aristocracy in England. For the one, he needed to dismiss Shelburne; for the other, to employ the name of Chatham. Grafton readily adopted a plan to lead the aristocracy into disputes among themselves; and then, separating the Bedfords from the rest, to introduce a part of them to power. Keen observers predicted a "mosaic" ministry.

To proceed securely, Grafton required some understanding with Chatham; but Chatham refused to see him, pleading his disability. The king himself, in a letter framed with cool adroitness, but which seemed an effusion of confidence and affection, charged the earl, who had given in the house of lords defiance to the whole nobility, by his "duty, affection, and honor," not to "truckle" now, when the "hydra" was at the height of its power; for success, nothing was wanted but that he should have "five minutes' conversation" with Grafton.

Chatham yielded to such persuasion, though suffering from a universal tremor, which application to business visibly increased. Grafton was filled with grief at "the sight of his great mind bowed down and thus weakened by disorder;" but he obtained from him the declaration that "he would not retire except by his majesty's command."

At a second interview in June, Grafton, at the ^{1767.} _{June.} wish of the king, urged that Shelburne "could not be allowed to continue in his office." Chatham summoned spirit to vindicate his friend, and to advise the dismissal of Townshend. He was with great difficulty led to believe that a junction was necessary with either the Bedfords or the Rockinghams; but, of the two, Grafton thought him inclined to prefer the former. The interview lasted two full hours, and the ministers parted with the most cordial professions of mutual attachment.

Grafton was left in the position of prime minister; but, from this time, the king controlled the cabinet and managed affairs. His influence was adverse to liberty, which,

nevertheless, continued to grow in strength. "Men are opening their eyes," said Voltaire, "from one end of Europe to the other. Fanaticism, which feels its humiliation and implores the arm of authority, makes the involuntary confession of its defeat. Let us bless this happy revolution which has taken place in the minds of men of probity within fifteen or twenty years. It has exceeded my hopes."

That a greater change hung over America could not escape the penetration of Jonathan Trumbull, the deputy governor of Connecticut. He was a model of the virtues of a rural magistrate, never weary of business, profoundly religious, grave in manner, discriminating in judgment, fixed in his principles, steadfast in purpose, and by his ability and patriotism enchainning respect and confidence. His opinion was formed, that, if "methods tending to violence should be taken to maintain the dependence of the colonies, it would hasten a separation;" that the connection with England could be preserved by "gentle and insensible methods," rather than "by power or force." But not so reasoned Townshend, who, after the Whitsuntide holidays, "stole" his bill through both houses. The stamp act had called an American revenue "just and necessary," and had been repealed as impolitic. Townshend's preamble to his bill granting duties in America on glass, red and white lead, painters' colors and paper, and threepence a pound on tea,

declared a "certain and adequate" American revenue
 1767. "expedient." By another act, a board of customs
 July. was established at Boston; and general writs of assistance were legalized. For New York, an act of parliament suspended the functions of its representatives, till they should render obedience to the imperial legislature.

On such an alternative, it was thought that that province would submit without delay; and that the Americans, as their tea would now come to them at a less price than to the consumers in England, would pay the impost in their own ports with only seeming reluctance.

But the new measures were even more subversive of right than those of Grenville, who left the civil officers dependent on the local legislators, and consigned the pro-

ceeds of the American tax to the exchequer. Townshend's revenue was to be disposed of under the sign manual at the king's pleasure, and could be burdened at will by pensions to Englishmen. In so far as it provided an independent support for the crown officers, it did away with the necessity of colonial legislatures. Governors would have little inducement to call them, and an angry minister might dissolve them without inconvenience. Henceforward, "no native" of America could hope to receive any lucrative commission under the crown, unless he were one of the martyrs to the stamp act. Places would be filled by "some Briton-born," who should have exhibited proof of a readiness to govern the Americans, on the principle of bringing them to the most exact obedience to the dictates of the king.

The man who, at this moment of Chatham's illness, seized on the administration of the colonies, saw nothing but what at the moment lay near him. England had excelled in planting, because she sent out her sons with free institutions like her own; and now her ruler of an hour, blind alike to her interest and her glory, was undoing her noblest work. Less than two centuries before, the English was heard nowhere but among the inhabitants of the larger part of one island and a few emigrants among the Celts of another. It had now seated itself on a continent beyond the Atlantic; and a comely and industrious race, as it climbed the eastern slope of the Alleghanies, carried with it the English speech and laws and letters and love of liberty. With superior wisdom and foresight, Hume contemplated the ever expanding settlements of those who spoke the same tongue with himself, wished for them the freest and happiest development, and invited Gibbon, his great compeer, to observe that at least "the solid and increasing establishments in America promised superior stability and duration to the English language."

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July.

CHAPTER XXX.

HOW TOWNSHEND'S AMERICAN TAXES WERE RECEIVED BY
FRANCE AND AMERICA. COALITION OF THE KING AND
THE ARISTOCRACY.

JULY—NOVEMBER, 1767.

THE anarchy in the ministry enabled the king to govern as well as to reign. Grafton made no tedious speeches
1767. in the closet, and approved the late American regu-
July. lations; persuading himself that the choice of tea as the subject of taxation was his own; that the law, suspending the legislative functions of New York, was marked by moderation and dignity; and that abrogating the charters of the American colonies would be their emancipation from "fetters."

The king, who had looked into Conway's heart to learn how to wind and govern him, attached him to office by the semblance of perfect trust; showing him all Chatham's letters, and giving him leave to treat with his own old associates.

But Rockingham, who never opened his eyes to the light that was springing from the increased intelligence of the masses, and left out of view that his glory as a statesman had come from his opposition to Grenville and Bedford, governed himself exclusively by the ancient principle of his party "to fight up against the king and against the people," and set about cementing the shattered fragments of the old whig aristocracy. He began with Bedford. "Bedford and Grenville are one," said Rigby, by authority; "and neither of them will ever depart from the ground taken, to assert and establish the entire sovereignty of Great Britain over her colonies." But Rockingham satisfied himself by declaring for a "wide and comprehensive" system, and,

after a week's negotiation, with no plan but to support privilege against prerogative, he announced to Grafton his readiness to form a new administration.

The king, whom Rockingham had now to encounter, was greatly his superior in sagacity and consistency. Implacable towards Grenville, he surveyed calmly the condition of the checkered factions; and, seeing that his own consent to their union would set them at variance among themselves, he gave Rockingham leave to revive, if he could, the exclusive rule of the great whig families. He was master of the field, and he knew it. "The king may make a page first minister," said Lord Holland. The day was past when England was to be governed by privilege alone; but, with the decline of the aristocracy, the people not less than the king increased in authority; demanded more and more to know what was passing in parliament; and, with the ready support of the press, prepared to enforce their right to intervene. "Power," thought a French observer, "has passed into the hands of the populace and the merchants. The country is exceedingly jealous of its liberty."

While Rockingham, self-deluded as to the purposes of his strange allies, summoned them to London, Shelburne was quieting the controversy with America respecting the billeting act. New York had foreseen the storm; and, without recognising the binding force of the British statute, or yet conforming to its provisions, it had made a grant of money for the use of the army, without specifications. This, by the advice of the attorney and solicitor general, Shelburne received as a sufficient compliance; and the assembly went on as though nothing had happened. The health of Chatham was all the while growing worse; his life began to be despaired of; his letters were kept from him; in the transactions which were going forward, he seemed unconcerned.

About nine o'clock in the evening of the twentieth, the leaders of the two branches of the oligarchy met at Newcastle house. When Rockingham had explained the purpose of the meeting, Bedford, on behalf of Temple and Grenville, declared their readiness to support a comprehen-

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sive administration, provided it adopted the capital measure of asserting and establishing the sovereignty of Great Britain over its colonies. At this, Rockingham flew into a violent passion. Bedford insisted with firmness on the declaration. "We may as well demand one from you," cried Richmond, "that you never will disturb that country again." Sandwich interposed to reconcile the difference, by substituting an ambiguity for the explicit language of Grenville.

Yet the same difficulty recurred on discussing the division of employments. In the house of commons, the lead must belong to Conway or Grenville. Against the latter, Rockingham was inflexible; and Bedford equally determined against the former. So, at one o'clock at night, the meeting broke up without any result, in spite of the Duke of Newcastle's tears.

The next day, Newcastle, whom forty years' experience had accomplished in the art of constructing ministries by compromise, convened the two parties once more at his house. But the difficulty about America could not be got over. Rockingham again avowed his distrust of Grenville and Temple, and insisted on Conway's taking the lead in the house of commons. This left no possibility of agreement; "and we broke up," says Bedford, "with our all declaring ourselves free from all engagements to one another, and to be as before this negotiation began."

During the suspense, the king, who had never been in earnest for a change, would not admit Rockingham to an audience; now that he had failed, he was received to make a petulant confession that the country required a strong, united, and permanent administration, and that he himself could not form one of any kind. The king was in the best humor. He bowed very graciously, and Rockingham bowed, and so they parted. "What did the king say to you?" asked Grafton and Conway eagerly, as Rockingham came out; and the only answer he could make was: "Nothing."

Once more Rockingham was urged to join with the friends of Chatham; but he was unaccommodating and impracticable. A leader of a party had never

done so much to diminish its influence ; his intellect bore no comparison to his virtues, his conduct no analogy to his good intentions. Deceived by reverence for the past, without ability to plan a system suited to his age, he left the field open to those who wished ill to liberty in America and in England. His enemies were pleased, for he had acted just as their interests required ; the king was never in better spirits.

Grafton, too, obtained the credit of moderation by his seeming readiness to retire ; and, after the rejection of all his offers to Rockingham, people saw him at the head of the treasury with less dissatisfaction. 1767.
Aug. He retained the expectation of an alliance with Bedford, who could not keep his party together without official patronage ; but, for the moment, he relied on Townshend.

So Charles Townshend remained in the cabinet, treating every thing in jest, scattering ridicule with full hands, and careless on whom it fell. Grafton was apparently the chief ; but the king held the helm, and, as the dissolution of parliament drew near, was the more happy in a dependent ministry. The patronage of the crown amounted to an annual disbursement of six millions sterling ; and the secret service money was employed to cover the expenses of elections, at a time when less than ten thousand voters chose a majority of the house of commons. As merchants and adventurers, rich with the profits of trade or the spoils of India, competed for boroughs, the price of votes within twenty years had increased threefold. The Duke of Newcastle grumbled as usual. Edmund Burke grumbled also, because the moneyed men of his party did not engage more of "the venal boroughs."

"May the anarchy in the British government last for ages," wrote Choiseul. "Your prayer will be heard," answered Durand, then in London as minister. "The opposition during this reign will always be strong, for the cabinet will always be divided ; but the genius of the nation, concentrating itself on commerce and colonies, compensates the inferiority of the men in power, and makes great advances without their guidance" "My position," observed Choi-

seul, as he contemplated, alike in Asia and in America, the undisputed ascendancy of the nation which he called his "enemy," "is the most vexatious possible; I see the ill; I do not see the remedy." Anxious to send accurate accounts, Durand made many inquiries of Franklin, and ^{1767.} asked for all his political writings. "That intriguing _{Aug.} nation," said Franklin, "would like very well to blow up the coals between Britain and her colonies; but I hope we shall give them no opportunity."

"In England," observed Durand, "there is no one who does not own that its American colonies will one day form a separate state. The Americans are jealous of their liberty, and will always wish to extend it. The taste for independence must prevail among them; yet the fears of England will retard its coming, for she will shun whatever can unite them." "Let her but attempt to establish taxes in them," rejoined Choiseul, "and those countries, greater than England in extent, and perhaps becoming more populous, having fisheries, forests, shipping, corn, iron, and the like, will easily and fearlessly separate themselves from the mother country." "Do not calculate," replied Durand, "on a near revolution in the American colonies. They aspire not to independence, but to equality of rights with the mother country. A plan of union will always be a means in reserve by which England may shun the greater evil. When the separation comes, the other colonies of Europe will be the prey of those whom excessive vigor may have detached from their parent stock. The loss of the colonies of France and of Spain will be the consequence of the revolution in the colonies of England."

The idea of emancipating the whole colonial world was alluring to Choiseul; and he judged correctly of the nearness of the conflict. "The die is thrown," said men in Boston, on hearing the revenue act had been carried through. "The Rubicon is passed." "We will form one universal combination," it was whispered, "to eat nothing, drink nothing, and wear nothing imported from Great Britain." The fourteenth of August was commemorated as the anniversary of the first resistance to the stamp act. Of the

intended appropriation of the new revenue, to make the crown officers independent of the people, the patriots said: "Such counsels will deprive the prince who now sways the British sceptre of millions of free subjects." And, when it was considered that Mansfield and the ministry declared some of the grants in colonial charters to be nugatory on the ground of their extent, the press of Boston, in concert with New York, following the precedent set by Molineux in his argument for Ireland, reasoned the matter through to its logical conclusion.

"Liberty," said the earnest writer, "is the inherent right of all mankind. Ireland has its own parliament, and makes laws; and English statutes do not bind them, says Lord Coke, because they send no knights to parliament. The same reason holds good as to America. Consent only gives human laws their force. Therefore, the parliament of England cannot extend their jurisdiction beyond their constituents. Advancing the powers of the parliament of England, by breaking the rights of the parliaments of America, may in time have its effects." "If this writer succeeds," said Bernard, "a civil war must ensue."

The act suspending the legislative functions of New York increased the discontent. The danger of the example was understood; and, while patriots of Boston encouraged one another to justify themselves in the eye of the present and of coming generations, they added: "Our strength consists in union. Let us, above all, be of one heart and one mind. Call on our sister colonies to join with us. Should our righteous opposition to slavery be named rebellion, yet pursue duty with firmness, and leave the event to Heaven." An intimate correspondence grew up between New York and Boston. They would nullify Townshend's revenue act by consuming nothing on which he had laid a duty, and avenge themselves on England by importing no more British goods.

In September of this year, Franklin was at Paris. His examination before the house of commons had given him a wide European reputation. He was presented to various members of the French academy, as the American

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who would one day disembarass France of these English. Malesherbes recognised "his extraordinary talents for politics;" and was led to extol "the American governments, as they permitted the human mind to direct its efforts towards those important objects which promote the prosperity and happiness of the people." Just then Charles Townshend was seized with fever; and after a short illness, during which he met danger with the unconcerned levity that had marked his conduct of the most serious affairs, he died, at the age of forty-one, famed alike for incomparable talents and extreme instability. Where were now his gibes? Where his flashes of merriment, that set the table in a roar; his eloquence, which made him the wonder of parliament? If his indiscretion forbade esteem, his good-humor dissipated hate. He had been courted by all parties, but never possessed the confidence of any. He followed no guide, and he had no plan of his own. No one wished him as an adversary; no one trusted him as an associate. He sometimes spoke with boldness; but at heart he was as timid as he was versatile. He had clear conceptions, depth of understanding, great knowledge of every branch of administration, and indefatigable assiduity in business. During the last session of parliament, his career had been splendid and successful. He had just obtained the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland for his brother, and a peerage for his wife, to descend to his children; and with power, fortune, affection, and honors clustering around him, he fell in the bloom of manhood, the most celebrated statesman who has left nothing but errors to account for his fame.

The choice of his successor would decide on the continuance of the ministry, of which his death seemed to presage the overthrow. Choiseul esteemed Grenville by far the ablest financier in England, and greatly feared his return to office. Dreading nothing so much as to be ruled, and following his own sure instinct, the king directed that the vacant place should be offered to Lord North.

At that time, Lord North was thirty-five years old, having seen the light in the same year with Washington. While

the great Virginian employed himself as a careful planter, or fulfilled his trust as a colonial legislator, or, in his hour of leisure, leaning against the primeval oaks on the lawn at Mount Vernon, mused on the destinies of his country and resolved to preserve its liberty, Lord North entered the cabinet, in which he was to remain for fifteen most eventful years. He was a minister after the king's own heart; not brilliant, but of varied knowledge; good-humored and able; opposed to republicanism, to reform, and to every popular measure. He had voted for the stamp act, and against its repeal; and had been foremost in the pursuit of Wilkes. Though choleric, he was of an easy temperament; a friend to peace, yet not fearing war; of great personal courage, which, however, partook something of apathy; rarely violent; never enterprising; of such moderation in his demands, that he seemed comparatively disinterested. His judgment was clear and his perceptions quick; but his power of will was feeble, a weakness which endeared him to his royal master. He took a leading part in the conduct of affairs, just as the people of America were discussing the new revenue act, which the king had not suggested; which no living member of the cabinet would own; which Grafton, the prime minister, described as "absurd;" but which was the fatal bequest of Charles Townshend.

The Sons of Liberty thought to avoid the new taxes by a universal agreement to send for no more goods from Britain. "Such a confederacy," said Bernard, "will be impracticable without violence;" and he advised a regiment of soldiers, as the surest way of "inspiring notions of acquiescence and submission." "Ships-of-war and a regiment," said Paxton in England, "are needed to insure tranquillity."

Never was a community more divided by fear and hope than that of Boston, to which the continent was looking for an example. Rash words were spoken, rash counsels conceived. "The commissioners of the customs," said the more hasty, "must not be allowed to land." "Paxton must, like Oliver, be taken to Liberty Tree or the gallows, and obliged to resign." "Should we

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be told to perceive our inability to oppose the mother country," cried the youthful Quincy, "we boldly answer that, in defence of our civil and religious rights, with the God of armies on our side, we fear not the hour of trial." As the lawyers of England decided that American taxation by parliament was legal and constitutional, the press of Boston sought support in "the law of nature, which," said they, "is the law of God, irreversible itself and superseding all human law." Men called to mind the words of Locke, that, when the constitution is broken by the obstinacy of the prince, "the people must appeal to Heaven." A petition to the governor to convene the legislature having been rejected with "contempt," the inhabitants of Boston, ever sensitive to "the sound of Liberty," assembled on the twenty-eighth of October, in town meeting, and voted to forbear the importation and use of a great number of articles of British produce and manufacture. They appointed a committee for obtaining a general subscription to such an agreement, and ordered their resolves to be sent to all the towns in the province, and also to the other colonies.

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Nov. Otis, heretofore so fervid, on this occasion warned against giving offence to Great Britain. Even the twentieth of November, the day on which the tax act was to go into effect, passed away in quiet. Images and placards were exhibited; but they were removed by the friends of the people. In a town meeting convened to discountenance riot, Otis went so far as to assert the king's right to appoint officers of the customs in what manner and by what denominations he pleased; and he advised the town to make no opposition to the new duties.

But province called to province. "A revolution must inevitably ensue," said a great student of Scripture prophecies, in a village of Connecticut. "We have discouraging tidings from a mother country," thought Trumbull. "The Americans have been firmly attached to Great Britain; nothing but severity will dissolve the union."

On the banks of the Delaware, John Dickinson, the illustrious Farmer, of Pennsylvania, who had been taught from his infancy to love humanity and liberty, came before the

continent to plead for American rights. He was an enthusiast in his love for England, and accepted the undefined relations of the parliament to the colonies as a perpetual compromise which neither party was to disturb by pursuing an abstract theory to its ultimate conclusions.

"If once we are separated from the mother country," he asked, in the sincerity of sorrow, "what new form of government shall we adopt? or where shall we find another Britain to supply our loss? Torn from the body to which we were united by religion, liberty, laws, affections, relation, language, and commerce, we must bleed at every vein." He admitted that parliament possessed a legal authority to regulate the trade of every part of the empire. Examining all the statutes relating to America from its first settlement, he found every one of them rested on that principle till the administration of Grenville. Never before did the British commons think of imposing duties in the colonies for the purpose of raising a revenue. Grenville first asserted, in the preamble of one act, that it was "just and necessary" for them to give and grant such duties; and, in the preamble of another, that it was "just and necessary" to raise a further revenue in the same way; while the preamble of the last act, granting duties upon paper, glass, colors, and tea, disregarding ancient precedents under cover of these modern ones, declared that it was moreover "expedient" that a revenue should be so raised. "This,"

said the Farmer, "is an INNOVATION, and a most dangerous innovation. Great Britain claims and exercises the right to prohibit manufactures in America. Once admit that she may lay duties upon her exportations to us, for the purpose of levying money on us only, she then will have nothing to do but to lay those duties on the articles which she prohibits us to manufacture, and the tragedy of American liberty is finished. We are in the situation of a besieged city, surrounded in every part but one. If that is closed up, no step can be taken but to surrender at discretion.

"I would persuade the people of these colonies, immediately, vigorously, and unanimously, to exert themselves in

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the most firm but the most peaceable manner for obtaining relief. If an inveterate resolution is formed to annihilate the liberties of the governed, English history affords examples of resistance by force."

The Farmer's Letters carried conviction through all the thirteen colonies.

CHAPTER XXXI.

MASSACHUSETTS CONSULTS HER SISTER COLONIES. HILLSBOROUGH'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE COLONIES.

NOVEMBER, 1767—FEBRUARY, 1768.

ON the twenty-fourth of November, the twelfth parliament came together for the last time previous to its dissolution. Its members were too busy in preparing for the coming elections to interfere with America, about which the king's speech was silent; and, when Grenville descanted on two or three papers in the "Boston Gazette," as infamous libels on parliament, the house showed weariness. Bedford objected to Grenville's test for America, and "preferred making an example of some one seditious fellow." The king kept the ministry from breaking, and proved himself the most efficient man among them. "He makes each of them," said Mansfield, "believe that he is in love with him, and fools them all. They will stand their ground," he added, "unless that mad man, Lord Chatham, should come and throw a fire-ball in the midst of them." But Chatham's long illness had for the time overthrown his powers. When his health began to give out, it was his passion to appear possessed of the unbounded confidence of the king. A morbid restlessness led him to vie in expense with his equals in the peerage, who were the inheritors of vast estates. He would drive out with ten outriders, and with two carriages, each drawn by six horses. His vain magnificence deceived no one. "He is allowed to retain office, as a livelihood," observed Bedford. The king complained of him as "a charlatan, who in difficult times affected ill-health to render himself the more sought after;" and saying that politics was a vile trade, more fit for a hack than for a gentleman, he proceeded to construct a ministry that would be disunited and docile.

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On the fifth of December, Bedford, just before the removal of cataracts from his eyes, renounced his connection with Grenville, saying to him, by way of excuse, that his age, his infirmities, and his tastes disinclined him to war on the court, which was willing to enter into a treaty with him, and each member of the opposition would do well to exercise a like freedom. "He chooses to give bread to his kinsmen and friends," said those whom he deserted. Grenville could not conceal his despair. To his junction with Bedford, he had sacrificed the favor of the king. Left to battle alone by the ally for whom he had been a martyr, the famed financier saw "the nothingness of the calculations of party." His health began to fail; the little that remained to him of life became steeped in bitterness; he seemed ready to curse his former associates and to die. At the time when the public indignation was roused by the news of the general agreement which the town of Boston was promoting, the ministry was revolutionized, but without benefit to Grenville. The colonies were taken from Shelburne and consigned to a separate department of state, with Lord Hillsborough as its secretary. Conway made room for Lord Weymouth, a vehement but not forcible speaker, yet a man of ability. Gower became president of the council; the post-office was assigned to Sandwich, the ablest of them all, as well as the most malignant against America; while Rigby was made vice-treasurer of Ireland, till he could get the pay-office. All five were friends of the Duke of Bedford, and united in opinion respecting America. Jenkinson, whose noiseless industry at the treasury board exercised a prevailing influence over the negligence of Grafton and the ease of Lord North, formed the active and confidential bond between the treasury and the office-holders in Boston.

To maintain the authority of parliament over America was the principle on which the friends of Bedford entered the ministry. Their partisans professed to think it desirable that "the colonies should forget themselves still further." "Five or six frigates," they clamored, "acting at sea, and three regiments on land, will soon bring them to reason

and submission." "The waves," replied Franklin, "never rise but when the winds blow;" and, addressing the British public, he showed that the new system of politics tended to dissolve the bonds of union between the two countries. "What does England gain by conquests in America," wrote the French minister, "but the danger of losing her own colonies? Things cannot remain as they are; the two nations will become more and more embittered, and their mutual griefs increase. In four years, the Americans will have nothing to fear from England, and will be prepared for resistance." He thought of Holland as a precedent, yet "America," he observed, "has no recognised chieftain; and, without the qualities united in the house of Orange, Holland would never have thrown off the yoke of Spain."

On Hillsborough's taking possession of his newly created office, Johnson, the faithful agent of Connecticut, a churchman, and one who from his heart wished to avoid a rupture between the colonies and England, waited upon him to offer congratulations on his advancement. "Connecticut," declared Hillsborough, "may always depend upon my friendship and affection."

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"Connecticut," said Johnson, "is a loyal colony." "You are a very free colony," rejoined Hillsborough; "generally you have used your very extraordinary powers with moderation; but you are very deficient in your correspondence, so that we have too little connection with you." "That," answered the agent, "is owing to the good order and tranquillity which have so generally prevailed in a quiet colony, where the government is wisely administered and the people easy and happy. Add to this: from the nature of our constitution, fewer occasions arise of troubling the king's ministers with our affairs than in the governments immediately under the crown."

"A request for a copy of your colony laws," said Hillsborough, "has been repeatedly made; but I cannot find that any obedience has been paid to the requisition." "The colony," replied Johnson, "has several times sent over copies of the printed law book; there is one or more at the plantation office." "It is the duty of the government," resumed

Hillsborough, "to transmit, from time to time, not only the laws that pass, but all the minutes of the proceedings of the council and assembly, that we may know what you are about, and rectify whatever may be amiss." "If your lordship," rejoined the agent, "wants a copy of our laws for private perusal, for the information of your clerks, or for reference, the colony will send you one of their law books; and you will find it as good a code of laws, almost, as could be devised for such an infant country, and in no respect inferior to any collection of the kind in any of the colonies. But, if your lordship means to have the laws transmitted for the inspection of the ministry as such, and for the purpose of approbation or disapprobation by his majesty in council, it is what the colony has never done, and, I am persuaded, will never submit to. By the charter which King Charles II. granted, the colony was invested with a power of legislation, not subject to revision. In point of fact, your lordship well knows that those laws have never been re-examined here; that the colony has for more than a century been in the full exercise of those powers, without the least check or interruption, except in a single instance, in such times and under such circumstances as I believe you will not mention but with detestation, much less consider as a precedent."

"I have read your charter," said Hillsborough; "it is very full and expressive; and I know what powers you have exercised under it. But there are such things as extravagant grants, which are therefore void. You will admit there are many things which the king cannot grant, as the inseparable incidents of the crown. Some things which King Charles pretended to grant may be of that nature, particularly the power of absolute legislation, which tends to the absurdity of creating an independent state."

"Nobody," replied Johnson, "has ever reckoned the power of legislation among the inseparable incidents of the crown. All lawyers are agreed that it is an undisputed prerogative of the crown to create corporations; and the power of law-making is, in some degree at least, incident to every corporation; depending not merely on the words of

the grant, but founded in the reason of things, and coextensive with the purposes for which the body is created. Every corporation in England enjoys it as really, though not as extensively, as the colony of Connecticut. Since, therefore, no question can be made of the right of the crown to create such bodies and grant such powers in degree, it would be very difficult to limit the bounty of the prince. The law has not done it, and who can draw the line? Surely not the ministers of the prince. The colony charters are of a higher nature, and founded on a better title, than those of the corporations of England. These are mere acts of grace and favor; whereas those in America were granted in consideration of very valuable services done or to be performed. The services having been abundantly executed at an immense expense by the grantees in the peopling and cultivation of a fine country, the vast extension of his majesty's dominion, and the prodigious increase of the trade and revenues of the empire, the charters must now be considered as grants upon valuable considerations, sacred and most inviolable. And even if there might have been a question made upon the validity of such a grant as that to Connecticut in the day of it, yet parliament as well as the crown having, for more than a century, acquiesced in the exercise of the power claimed by it, the colony has now a parliamentary sanction, as well as a title by prescription added to the royal grant, by all which it must be effectually secured in the full possession of its charter rights."

"These are matters of nice and curious disquisition," said Hillsborough, evasively; "but at least 1768. Jan. your laws ought to be regularly transmitted for the inspection of the privy council and for disapprobation, if found repugnant to the laws of England."

"An extra-judicial opinion of the king's minister," answered Johnson, "or even of the king's privy council, cannot determine whether any particular act is within that proviso or not; this must be decided by a court of law having jurisdiction of the matter, about which the law in question is conversant. If the general assembly of Connect-

ieut should make a law flatly contradictory to the statute of Great Britain, it may be void ; but a declaration of the king in council would still make it neither more nor less so, but be as void as the law itself, for other words in the charter clearly and expressly exclude them from deciding about it.”

1768.
Jan. “I have not seen these things,” replied Hillsborough, “in the light in which you endeavor to place them. You are in danger of being too much a separate, independent state, and of having too little subordination to this country.” And then he spoke of the equal affection the king bore his American subjects, and of the great regard of the ministers for them as Britons, whose rights were not to be injured.

“Upon the repeal of the stamp act,” said Johnson, “we had hoped these were the principles adopted ; but the new duties imposed last winter, and other essential regulations in America, have damped those expectations and given alarm to the colonies.”

“Let neither side,” said Hillsborough, “stick at small matters. As to taxes, you are infinitely better off than any of your fellow-subjects in Europe. You are less burdened than even the Irish.”

“I hope that England will not add to our burdens,” said Johnson ; “you would certainly find it redound to your own prejudice.”

Thus, for two hours together, they reasoned on the rights of Connecticut, whose charter Hillsborough wished to annul ; not on the pretence that it had been violated or misused, but because by the enjoyment of it the people were too free.

Connecticut so united caution with patriotism that successive British ministers were compelled to delay abrogating its charter, for want of a plausible excuse. The apologists of the new secretary called him honest and well meaning ; he was passionate and ignorant and full of self-conceit ; alert in conducting business ; wrong-headed in forming his opinions, and pompously stiff in adhering to them. He proposed, as his rule of conduct, to join inflexibility of policy with professions of tenderness ; and, in a man of his moderate faculties, this

attempt to unite firmness with suavity became a mixture of obstinacy and deceit.

His first action respecting Massachusetts betrayed his character. Hutchinson, through Jenkinson, obtained an annual grant of two hundred pounds sterling; Hillsborough gave to the grant the form of a secret warrant under the king's sign manual on the commissioners of the customs at Boston. That a chief justice, holding office during pleasure and constantly employing his power for political purposes, should receive money secretly from the king, was fatal to the independence of the bench.

1768.
Jan.

The reflecting people in Boston dreaded the corrupt employment of the new revenue. "We shall be obliged," said they, "to maintain in luxury sycophants, court parasites, and hungry dependants, who will be sent over to watch and oppress those who support them. If large salaries are given, needy poor lawyers from England and Scotland, or some tools of power of our own, will be placed on the bench. The governors will be men rewarded for despicable services, hackneyed in deceit and avarice; or some noble scoundrel, who has spent his fortune in every kind of debauchery.

"Unreasonable impositions tend to alienate the hearts of the colonists. Our growth is so great, in a few years Britain will not be able to compel our submission. Who thought that the four little provinces of Holland would have been able to throw off the yoke of that powerful kingdom of Spain? yet they accomplished it by their desperate perseverance." "Liberty is too precious a jewel to be resigned."

The attempt at concerting an agreement not to import had thus far failed; and, unless the assembly of Massachusetts should devise methods of resistance, the oppressive law would gradually go into effect. Of the country members, Hawley, than whom no one was abler or more sincere, lived far in the interior; and his excitable nature, now vehement, now desponding, unfitted him to guide. The irritability of Otis had so increased that he rather indulged himself in "rhapsodies" and volcanic "flashes" of eloquence, than framed deliberate plans of conduct. Besides, his mind had

early embraced the idea "of a general union of the British empire, in which every part of its wide dominions should be represented under one equal and uniform direction, and system of laws;" and though the congress of New York drew from him a tardy concession that an American representation was impossible, yet his heart still turned to his original opinion, and, in his prevailing mood, he shrunk from the thought of independence. The ruling passion of Samuel Adams, on the contrary, was the preservation of the distinctive character and institutions of New England. He understood the tendency of the measures adopted by parliament; approved of making the appeal to Heaven, since freedom could not otherwise be preserved; and valued the liberties of his country more than its temporal prosperity, more than his own life, more than the lives of all. His theory, on which the colonies were to rest their defence of their separate rights till the dawn of better days, as a small but gallant army waits for aid within well-chosen lines, he imbodyed in the form of a letter from the assembly of the province to their agent. On the sixth of January, and for the evening and morning of many succeeding days, the paper was under severe examination in the house. Seven times it was revised: every word was weighed; every sentence considered; and each seemingly harsh expression tempered and refined. At last, on the twelfth of January, the letter was adopted, to be sent to the agent, communicated to the British ministry, and published to the world.

1768.
Jan.

Disclaiming the most distant thought of independence of the mother country, provided they could have the free enjoyment of their rights, the house affirmed that "the British constitution hath its foundation in the law of God and nature; that, in every free state, the supreme legislature derives its power from the constitution," and is bounded and circumscribed "by its fundamental rules."

That the right to property exists by a law of nature, they upheld, on the one side, against "Utopian schemes of a community of goods;" on the other, against all acts of the British parliament taxing the colonists.

“In the time of James II.,” they continued, “the crown and its ministers, without the intervention of parliament, demolished charters and levied taxes in the colonies at pleasure. Our case is more deplorable and remediless. Our ancestors found relief by the interposition of parliament; but by the intervention of that very power we are taxed, and can appeal from their decision to no power on earth.”

1768.
Jan.

They further set forth the original contract between the king and the first planters, as the royal promise in behalf of the English nation; their title by the common law and by statute law to all the liberties and privileges of natural born subjects of the realm; and the want of equity in taxing colonies whose manufactures were prohibited and whose trade was restrained.

Still more, they objected to the appropriation of the revenues from the new duties to the support of American civil officers and an American army, as introducing an absolute government. The judges in the colonies held their commissions at the pleasure of the crown; if their salaries were to be independent, a corrupt governor might employ men who would “deprive a bench of justice of its glory, and the people of their security.” Nor need the money be applied by parliament to protect the colonists; they were never backward in defending themselves, and, when treated as free subjects, they always granted aids of their own accord, to the extent of their ability, and even beyond it. Nor could a standing army among them secure their dependence; they had towards the mother country an English affection, which would for ever keep them connected with her, unless it should be erased by repeated unkind usage.

They objected to the establishment of commissioners of the customs, as an expense needless in itself, and dangerous to their liberties from the increase of crown officers. Still more, they expressed alarm at the act conditionally suspending the powers of the assembly of New York, and thus annihilating its legislative authority.

“King James and his successors,” thus they proceeded,

“broke the copartnership of the supreme legislative with the supreme executive, and the latter could not exist without the former. In these remote dominions, there should be a free legislative; otherwise, strange effects are to be apprehended, for the laws of God and nature are invariable.”

To Shelburne, Chatham, Rockingham, Conway, Camden, the treasury board, at which sat Grafton, Lord North, and Jenkinson, the house of representatives next addressed letters which especially enforced the impracticability of an American representation in the British parliament. But no memorial was sent to the lords; no petition to the house of commons. The colonial legislature joined issue with the British parliament, and, adopting the draft of Samuel Adams, approached the king with their petition.

To him, in beautifully simple language, they recounted the story of the colonization of Massachusetts; the forfeiture of their first charter; and the confirmation to them, on the revolution, of their most essential rights and liberties; the principal of which was that most sacred right of being taxed only by representatives of their own free election. They complained that the acts of parliament, “imposing taxes in America, with the express purpose of raising a revenue, left them only the name of free subjects.”

Relief by an American representation in parliament they declare to be “utterly impracticable;” and they referred the consideration of their present circumstances to the wisdom and clemency of the king.

1768. In the several papers which, after a fortnight's
Jan. anxious deliberation, were adopted by the assembly, not one line betrays haste or hesitation. It remained for the house “to inform the other governments with its proceedings against the late acts, that, if they thought fit, they might join therein.” But this, it was said in a house of eighty-two members, would be considered, in England, as appointing a second congress; and the negative prevailed by a vote of two to one.

At this appearance of indecision, Bernard conceived “great hopes;” but the hesitancy in the assembly had proceeded not from timidity, but caution. The members

spoke with one another in private, till they more clearly perceived the imminence and extent of the public danger. Then, on the fourth day of February, a motion was made to reconsider the vote against writing to the other colonies. The house was counted; eighty-two were again found to be present; the question was carried by a large majority, and the former vote erased from the journals.

1768.
Feb.

On the same day, the house after debate appointed a committee to inform each house of representatives or burghesses on the continent of the measure which it had taken; and on the eleventh they accepted, almost unanimously, a masterly circular letter which Samuel Adams had drafted.

Expressing a firm confidence that the united supplications of the distressed Americans would meet with the favorable acceptance of the king, they set forth the importance that proper constitutional measures respecting the acts of parliament imposing taxes on the colonies should be adopted; and that the representatives of the several assemblies upon so delicate a point should harmonize with each other. They made known their "disposition freely to communicate their mind to a sister colony, upon a common concern."

They then embodied the substance of all their representations to the ministry: that the legislative power of parliament is circumscribed by the constitution, and is self-destroyed whenever it overleaps its bounds; that allegiance, as well as sovereignty, is limited; that the right to property is an essential, unalterable one, engrafted into the British system, and to be asserted, exclusive of any consideration of charters; that taxation of the colonies by the British parliament, in which they are not represented, is an infringement of their natural and constitutional rights; that an equal representation of the American people in parliament is for ever impracticable; that their partial representation would be worse even than taxation without their consent. They further enumerated as grievous the independent civil list for crown officers; the billeting act; and the large powers of the resident commissioners of the customs.

“Your assembly” they continued, “is too generous and liberal in sentiment to believe that this letter proceeds from an ambition of taking the lead, or dictating to the other assemblies. They freely submit their opinions to the judgment of others, and shall take it kind in you to point out to them any thing further that may be thought necessary.”

1768.
Feb. A fair copy of this circular was transmitted to England, to be produced in proof of its true spirit and design; they drew their system of conduct from reason itself, and despised concealment.

CHAPTER XXXII.

AN AMERICAN EMPIRE IS IN THE DIVINE DECREES. HILLSBOROUGH'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE COLONIES CONTINUED.

FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1768.

THE day after the circular was adopted, the board of commissioners of the revenue at Boston, co-operating with Bernard, addressed to their superiors in England a secret memorial. 1768.
Feb. Expressing apprehensions for their own safety, they complained of the American press, especially of the seeming moderation, parade of learning, and most mischievous tendency of the Farmer's Letters; of New England town-meetings, "in which," they said, "the lowest mechanics discussed the most important points of government with the utmost freedom;" of Rhode Island, as if it had even proposed to stop the revenue money; of Massachusetts, for having invited every province to discountenance the consumption of British manufactures. "We have every reason," they added, "to expect that we shall find it impracticable to enforce the execution of the revenue laws, until the hand of government is properly strengthened. At present, there is not a ship-of-war in the province, nor a company of soldiers nearer than New York."

The alternative was thus presented to the ministry and the king. On the one side, Massachusetts asked relief from taxation without representation, and invited the several colonies to unite in the petition; the crown officers, on the other, sent their memorial for a fleet and regiments.

But what could an armed force find to do? The opposition was passive. The house left no doubt of its purpose not to arrest the execution of any law; on the twenty-sixth

of February, by a vote of eighty-one to the one vote of Timothy Ruggles, it discouraged the use of superfluities; and gave a preference to American manufactures in resolves which, said Bernard, "were so decently and cautiously worded that at another time they would scarcely have given offence." Could an army compel a colonist to buy a new coat, or to drink tea, or to purchase what he was resolved to do without? Grafton, North, even Hillsborough, disapproved of Townshend's revenue act. Why will they not quiet America by its revocation? Sending regiments into Boston will be a summons to America to make the last appeal.

Grenville and his friends insisted on declaring meetings and associations like those of Boston illegal and punishable, and advised some immediate chastisement. "I wish," said he, "every American in the world could hear me. I gave the Americans bounties on their whale fishery, thinking they would obey the acts of parliament;" and he now spoke for a prohibition of their fisheries. 1768.
Feb. Some of the ministry were ready to proceed at once against Massachusetts with extreme severity. When America was mentioned, nothing could be heard but bitterest invectives. That it must submit, no one questioned.

While Hillsborough was writing encomiums on Bernard, praising his own "justice and lenity," and lauding the king as the tender father of all his subjects, Choiseul discerned the importance of the rising controversy; and, that he might unbosom his thoughts with freedom, he appointed to the place of ambassador in England his own most confidential friend, the Count du Châtelet, son of the celebrated woman with whom Voltaire had been intimately connected. The new diplomatist was a person of quick perceptions, courage, and knowledge of the world; and he was also deeply imbued with the philosophy of his age.

The difficulty respecting taxation was heightened by personal contentions, which exasperated members of the legislature of Massachusetts. The house discovered that their leaving the crown officers out of the council had been misrepresented by Bernard to Shelburne; and, in the most

temperate language, they wisely suggested the recall of the governor, of whose accusatory letters they asked for copies. "It is not in the power of these people to move my temper," wrote Bernard. A paper in the "Boston Gazette," written by Warren, exposed "the obstinate malice, diabolical thirst for mischief, effrontery, guileful treachery, and wickedness" of Bernard. The council censured the publication. The governor called on the house to order a prosecution of the printers. "The liberty of the press," they answered, "is the great bulwark of freedom." On proroguing the legislature, Bernard chid in public its leading members. "There are men," said he, "to whose importance everlasting contention is necessary. Time will soon pull the masks off those false patriots who are sacrificing their country to the gratification of their own passions. I shall defend this injured country from the evils which threaten it, arising from the machinations of a few, very few, discontented men." "The flagitious libel," he wrote home, "blasphemes kingly government itself;" but it was only a coarse sketch of his own bad qualities. "I told the grand jury," said Hutchinson, "almost in plain words, that they might depend on being damned, if they did not find against the paper, as containing high treason." The jury refused. "Oaths and the laws have lost their force," wrote Hutchinson; while "the honest and independent grand jurors" became the favorite toast of the Sons of Liberty.

On the day on which the general court was pro-
rogued, merchants of Boston began a subscription to
renounce commerce with England, and invited the mer-
chants of the whole continent to give the world the spec-
tacle of a universal passive resistance. 1768.
March.

Kalb, who was astonished at the prosperity of the colonies and the immense number of merchant vessels in all the waters from the Chesapeake to Boston, thought for a moment that, if the provinces could jointly discuss their interests by deputies, an independent state would soon be formed. The people were brave; and their militia not inferior to regular troops. And yet, after studying the

spirit of New England, he was persuaded that all classes sincerely loved their mother country, and would never accept foreign aid. Besides, so convinced were they of the justice of their demands and their own importance, they would not hold it possible that they should be driven to the last appeal. "It is my fixed opinion," said he, "that the firebrands will be worsted, and that the colonies will, in the end, obtain all the satisfaction which they demand. Sooner or later, the government must recognise its being in the wrong."

The crown officers in Boston persevered in their intrigues. "The annual election of councillors," wrote Bernard, "is the canker-worm of the constitution of this government, whose weight cannot be put in the scale against that of the people." "To keep the balance even," argued Hutchinson, "there is need of aid from the other side of the water."

How to induce the British government to change the charter and send over troops, was the constant theme of discussion; and it was concerted that the eighteenth of March, the anniversary of the repeal of the stamp act, should be made to further the design. Reports were industriously spread of an intended insurrection on that day; of danger to the commissioners of the customs. The Sons of Liberty, on their part, were anxious to preserve order. At daybreak, the effigy of Paxton and that of another revenue officer were found hanging on Liberty Tree; they were instantly taken down by the friends of the people. The governor endeavored to magnify "the atrociousness of the insult," and to express fears of violence; the council justly insisted there was no danger of disturbance. The day was celebrated by a temperate festival, at which toasts were drunk to the freedom of the press; to Paoli and the Corsicans; to the joint freedom of America and Ireland; to the immortal memory of Brutus, Cassius, Hampden, and Sydney. Those who dined together broke up early. There was no bonfire lighted; and "in the evening," wrote Hutchinson within the week of the event, "we had only such a mob as we have long been used to on the fifth of November, and other holidays." Gage, who afterwards made careful

1768.
March.

inquiry in Boston, declared the disturbance to have been "trifling." But Bernard reported a "great disposition to the utmost disorder," hundreds "parading the streets with yells and outcries; a very terrible night to those who thought themselves objects of the popular fury." "I can afford no protection to the commissioners," he ^{1768.} _{March} continues. "I have not the shadow of authority or power. I am obnoxious to the madness of the people, yet left exposed to their resentment, without any possible resort of protection;" thus hinting the need of "troops, as well to support the king's government as to protect the persons of his officers."

To insure the arrival of an armed force, the commissioners of the customs applied directly to the naval commander at Halifax, and sent a second memorial to the lords of the treasury. They said that a design had certainly been formed to bring them on the eighteenth of March to Liberty Tree, and oblige them to renounce their commissions. "The governor and magistracy," they add, "have not the least authority or power in this place. We depend on the favor of the mob for our protection. We cannot answer for our security for a day, much less will it be in our power to carry the revenue laws into effect."

These letters went from Boston to the ministry, in March. The tales of riots were false. The people were opposed to the revenue system of the British parliament, and hoped for redress; if the ministry should refuse it, they were resolved to avoid every act of violence, to escape paying the taxes by never buying the goods on which they were imposed, and to induce their repeal by ceasing to consume English manufactures. England had on her side the general affection of the people, the certainty that the country could not as yet manufacture for itself, and consequently the certainty that the schemes of non-importation would fail. Would she but substitute a frank and upright man for Bernard, the wants of the colonists might weary them of their self-denial.

But the administration of public affairs had degenerated into a system of patronage, which had money for its object;

and was supported by the king, from the love of authority. The government of England had more and more ceased to represent the noble spirit of England. The twelfth parliament, which had taxed America and was now near its dissolution, exceeded all former ones in profligacy. The men of Bolingbroke's time took bribes more openly than those of Walpole; those of Walpole, than those of the Pelhams; and those of the Pelhams, than those since the accession of George III.: so that direct gifts of money were grown less frequent, as public opinion increased in power. But there never was a parliament so shameless in its corruption as this twelfth parliament, which virtually severed America from England. It had its votes ready for anybody that was minister, and for any measure that the minister of the day might propose. It gave an almost unanimous support to Pitt, when, for the last time in seventy years, the foreign politics of England were on the side of liberty. It had a majority for Newcastle after he had ejected Pitt; ^{1768.} ^{March.} for Bute, when he dismissed Newcastle; for Grenville, so long as he was the friend of Bute; for Grenville, when he became Bute's implacable foe; and for the inexperienced Rockingham. The shadow of Chatham, after his desertion of the house, could sway its decisions. When Charles Townshend, rebelling in the cabinet, seemed likely to become minister, it gave its applause to him. When Townshend died, North easily restored subordination.

Nor was it less impudent as to measures. It promoted the alliance with the king of Prussia, and deserted him; it protected the issue of general warrants, and utterly condemned them; it passed the stamp act, and it repealed the stamp act; it began to treat America with tenderness, then veered about, imposed new taxes, changed American constitutions, and trifled with the freedom of the American legislative. It was corrupt, and knew itself to be corrupt, and made a jest of its corruption. While it lasted, it bestowed its favors on any minister of any party; and when it was gone, and had no more chances at prostitution, men wrote its epitaph as of the most scandalously abandoned body that England had ever known.

Up to this time, the colonists had looked to parliament as the bulwark of their liberties; henceforward, they knew it to be their most dangerous enemy. They avowed that they would not pay taxes which it assumed to impose. Some still allowed it a right to restrain colonial trade; but the advanced opinion among the patriots was that each provincial legislature must be perfectly free; that laws were not valid unless sanctioned by the consent of America herself. Without disputing what the past had established, they were resolved to oppose any minister that should attempt to "innovate" a single iota in their privileges. "Almighty God himself," wrote Dickinson, "will look down upon your righteous contest with approbation. You will be a band of brothers, strengthened with inconceivable supplies of force and constancy by that sympathetic ardor which animates good men, confederated in a good cause. You are assigned by Divine Providence, in the appointed order of things, the protector of unborn ages, whose fate depends upon your virtue."

The people of Boston responded to this appeal. The men whose fathers came to the wilderness for freedom to say their prayers would not fear to take up arms against a preamble which implied their servitude. In a town-meeting, Malcom moved their thanks to the ingenious author of the Farmer's Letters; and Hancock, Samuel Adams, and Warren were of the committee to greet him in the name of the town as "the friend of Americans, and the benefactor of mankind."

"They may with equal reason make one step more," wrote Hutchinson to the Duke of Grafton: "they may deny the regal as well as the parliamentary authority, although no man as yet has that in his thoughts."

Du Châtelet, in England, having made his inquiries into the resources of America, was persuaded that, even if the detailed statements before him were one half too large, England could not reduce her colonies, should they raise the standard of rebellion. "Their population is so great," said he to Choiseul, "that a breath would scatter the troops sent to enforce obedience. The ever existing attractions of

1768.
March.

an entire independence and of a free commerce cannot fail to keep their minds continually in a state of disgust at the national subjection. The English government may take some false step, which will in a single day set all these springs in activity. A great number of chances can hasten the revolution which all the world foresees without daring to assign its epoch. I please myself with the thought that it is not so far off as some imagine, and that we should spare neither pains nor expense to co-operate with it. We must also nourish his Catholic majesty's disposition to avenge his wrongs. The ties that bind America to England are three fourths broken. It must soon throw off the yoke. To make themselves independent, the inhabitants want nothing but arms, courage, and a chief. If they had among them a genius equal to Cromwell, this republic would be more easy to establish than the one of which that usurper was the head. Perhaps this man exists; perhaps nothing is wanting but happy circumstances to place him upon an exalted theatre."

At Mount Vernon, conversation with Arthur Lee fell on the dangers that overhung the country. "Whenever my country calls upon me," said Washington, "I am ready to take my musket on my shoulder."

1768. "Courage, Americans!" cried William Livingston,
 April. one of the famed New York "triumvirate" of anti-prelatic lawyers. "Courage, Americans! liberty, religion, and sciences are on the wing to these shores. The finger of God points out a mighty empire to your sons. The savages of the wilderness were never expelled to make room for idolaters and slaves. The land we possess is the gift of Heaven to our fathers, and Divine Providence seems to have decreed it to our latest posterity. The day dawns in which the foundation of this mighty empire is to be laid, by the establishment of a regular American constitution. All that has hitherto been done seems to be little beside the collection of materials for this glorious fabric. 'Tis time to put them together. The transfer of the European part of the family is so vast, and our growth so swift, that, BEFORE SEVEN YEARS ROLL OVER OUR HEADS, the first stone must be laid."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

AN ARMY AND A FLEET FOR BOSTON. HILLSBOROUGH'S
ADMINISTRATION OF THE COLONIES CONTINUED.

APRIL—JUNE, 1768.

"SEND over an army and a fleet to reduce the dogs to reason," was the cry at court and the public offices in England, on every rumor of colonial discontents. On the fifteenth of April, the circular letter of Massachusetts reached the ministers. "It is an incentive to rebellion," said some of them; and their choleric haste dictated most impolitic measures. A letter was sent by Hillsborough to the governors of each of the twelve other colonies, with a copy of the circular, which was described as "of a most dangerous and factious tendency," calculated "to inflame the minds" of the people, "to promote an unwarrantable combination, and to excite open opposition to the authority of parliament." "You will therefore," said he, "exert your utmost influence to prevail upon the assembly of your province to take no notice of it, which will be treating it with the contempt it deserves. If they give any countenance to this seditious paper, it will be your duty to prevent any proceedings upon it by an immediate prorogation or dissolution." This order he sent even to the governor of Pennsylvania, who, by its charter, had no power to prorogue or dissolve an assembly. Massachusetts was told that the king considered "their resolutions contrary to the sense of the assembly, and procured by surprise. You will therefore," such was the command to Bernard, "require of the house of representatives, in his majesty's name, to rescind the resolution which gave birth to the circular letter from the speaker, and to declare their disapprobation of

1768.
April.

that rash and hasty proceeding." "If the new assembly should refuse to comply, it is the king's pleasure that you should immediately dissolve them."

The agent of the assembly of Massachusetts interceded for the colony. Its petition was received by Hillsborough for the king's perusal, but was never officially presented. "It has been resolved in council," said the secretary, "that Governor Bernard have strict orders to insist upon the assembly's revoking their circular letter; and, if refused, he is immediately to dissolve them. Upon their next choice, he is again to insist on it; and, if then refused, he is to do the like; and as often as the case shall happen. I had settled the repeal of these acts with Lord North; but the opposition of the colonies renders it absolutely necessary to support the authority of parliament."

Here was a colonial system never before thought of. Townshend had suspended the legislative functions of New York by act of parliament. Now a secretary of state, speaking for the king, offered to Massachusetts the option of forfeiting its representative government, or submitting to his mandate. At the same time, the commander in chief in America was ordered to maintain the public tranquillity. But it was characteristic of Massachusetts that the peace had not been broken. The power of parliament was denied, but not resisted.

On the second of April, the assembly of Virginia read the circular letter from Massachusetts, and referred it to a committee of the whole house. The petitions of freeholders of the counties of Chesterfield, Henrico, Dinwiddie, and Amelia, pointed to the act of parliament suspending the legislative power of New York, as of a tendency fatal to the liberties of a free people. The county of Westmoreland dwelt also on the new revenue act, as well as on the billeting act. The freeholders of Prince Williams enumerated all

three, which, like the stamp act, would shackle North America with slavery. On the seventh, the illustrious

1768.
April.

Bland reported resolutions reaffirming the exclusive right of the American assemblies to tax the American colonies; and they were unanimously confirmed. A committee

of twelve, including Bland and Archibald Cary, prepared a petition to the king, a memorial to the house of lords, and a remonstrance to the house of commons, which, after being carefully considered and amended, were unanimously adopted. On the fifteenth, Bland invited a conference with the council; and the council, with Blair, the acting president after Fauquier's death, agreed to the papers which the house had prepared, and which were penned in a still bolder style than those from Massachusetts.

After this, the burgesses of Virginia, to fulfil all their duty, not only assured Massachusetts of their applause for its attention to American liberty, but also directed their speaker to write to the respective speakers of all the assemblies on the continent, to make known their proceedings, and to intimate how necessary they thought it that the colonies should unite in a firm but decent opposition to every measure which might affect their rights and liberties.

In the midst of these proceedings of a representative body, which truly reflected the sentiments of a people, the thirteenth British parliament, the last which ever legislated for America, was returned. Of the old house, one hundred and seventy failed to be rechosen. Boroughs were sold openly, and votes purchased at advanced prices. The market value of a seat in parliament was four thousand pounds. Contested elections cost the candidates twenty to thirty thousand pounds apiece, and it was affirmed that in Cumberland one person lavished a hundred thousand pounds. The election was the most expensive ever known. The number of disputed seats exceeded all precedent; as did the riots of a misguided populace, indulged but once every seven years with the privilege of an election.

Wilkes was returned for Westminster. "The expulsion of Wilkes must be effected," wrote the king to Lord North, who stood ready to obey the unconstitutional mandate.

At the opening, the great question was raised, if strangers should be excluded from the debates. "I
ever wished," said Grenville, "to have what is done
here well known." The people no longer acquiesced in the
secrecy of the proceedings of their professed representatives;

1768.
May.

this is the last parliament of which the debates are not reported.

Out of doors, America was not without those who listened to her complaints. The aged Oglethorpe, founder of the colony of Georgia, busied himself with distributing pamphlets in her behalf among the most considerable public men. Franklin, in London, collected and printed the Farmer's Letters. "They are very wild," said Hillsborough of them; many called them treasonable and seditious; yet Edmund Burke approved their principle. Translated into French, they were much read in Parisian saloons; their author was compared with Cicero; Voltaire joined the praise of "the farmers of Pennsylvania" to that of the Russians who aspired to liberate Greece.

"In America, the Farmer is adored," said the governor of Georgia; "and no mark of honor and respect is thought equal to his merit." At that time, Georgia was the most flourishing colony on the continent. Lands there were cheap, and labor dear; it had no manufactures; though, of the poorer families, one in a hundred, perhaps, might make its own coarse clothing of a mixture of cotton and wool. Out of twenty-five members of the newly elected legislature, at least eighteen were professed "Sons of Liberty," "enthusiasts" for the American cause, zealous for "maintaining their natural rights." They unanimously made choice of Benjamin Franklin as their agent; and nothing but their prorogation prevented their sending words of sympathy to Massachusetts. New Jersey expressed its desire to correspond and unite with the other colonies. The Connecticut assembly in May, after a solemn debate, concluded to petition the king only; "because," said they, "to petition the parliament would be a tacit confession of its right to lay impositions upon us, which right and authority we publicly disavow." Nor would the court issue writs of assistance, although it was claimed that they were authorized by Townshend's revenue act. Some grew alarmed for consequences; but others "were carried above fear."

At New York, the merchants held a meeting to join with the inhabitants of Boston in the agreement not to import

from Great Britain; and, against the opinion of the governor, the royal council decided that the meetings were legal; that the people did but assemble to establish among themselves certain rules of economy; that, as they were masters of their own fortune, they had a right to dispose of it as they pleased. 1768.
May.

While Massachusetts received encouragement from its sister colonies, its crown officers continued and extended their solicitations in England for large and fixed salaries, as the only way to keep the Americans in their dependence. Grenville's influence was the special resource of Hutchinson and Oliver, who had supported his stamp act and suffered as his martyrs; and they relied on Whately to secure for them his attention and favor, which they valued the more, as it seemed to them probable that he would one day supersede Grafton.

Bernard, on his part, addressed his importunities to Hillsborough, and asked leave to become an informer, under an assurance that no exposure should be made of his letters. Yet how could public measures be properly founded on secret communications, known only to the minister and the king? Should the right of the humblest individual to confront witnesses against him be held sacred? and should rising nations be exposed to the loss of chartered privileges and natural rights on concealed accusations? With truer loyalty towards the mother country, Samuel Adams, through the agent, advised the repeal of the revenue acts, and the removal of a governor in whom the colonies could never repose confidence.

But Bernard went on persuading Hillsborough that America had grown refractory in consequence of the feeble administration of the colonies during the time of Conway and Shelburne; that it required "his lordship's distinguished abilities" to accomplish the "arduous task of reducing them into good order." "It only needs," said Hutchinson, "one steady plan, pursued a little while." At that moment, the people of Massachusetts, confidently awaiting a favorable result of their appeal to the king, revived their ancient spirit of loyalty. At the opening of the political year, on

the last Wednesday in May, the new house of representatives came together, with a kindlier disposition towards England than had existed for several years. The two parties were nearer an equality. On the day of election, after hearing a sermon in which Shute, of Hingham, denied the supreme authority of parliament, and justified resistance to laws not based on equity, the legislature seemed willing to restore Hutchinson to the council; and, on the first ballot, he had sixty-eight votes where he needed but seventy-one.

He himself was the cause of his defeat. As the convention were preparing to ballot a second time, Samuel Adams rose to ask whether the lieutenant-governor was a pensioner; on which, Otis, the other "chief head of the faction," stood up and declared that Hutchinson had received a warrant from the lords of the treasury for two hundred pounds a year out of the proceeds of the new duties; and, distributing votes for Artemas Ward, he cried out: "Pensioner or no pensioner, surely the house will not think a pensioner of the crown a fit person to sit in council." "But for the warrant," confessed Hutchinson, "I should have been elected." "And that," added Bernard, "would have put quite a new face upon public affairs." "The government," repeated Bernard, "should insist upon it that the lieutenant-governor and secretary should have seats and votes at the council board without an election." "This annual election of the council spoils the constitution," wrote Hutchinson. "They will not come to a right temper, until they find that, at all events, the parliament will maintain its authority." Such were the representations of men on whom Hillsborough was eager to bestow signal marks of his confidence; having resolved to reward Bernard's zeal with the lucrative post of lieutenant-governor of Virginia, and to leave the government of Massachusetts in the hands of Hutchinson.

Just at this time, the ministry in England received
1763.
June. the letters of March from the commissioners of the customs and from Bernard; and, totally misconceiving the state of things, Hillsborough, on the eighth of June, ordered Gage to send a regiment to Boston, for the assist-

ance of the civil magistrates and the officers of the revenue. The admiralty was also directed to send one frigate, two sloops, and two cutters to remain in Boston harbor; and the castle of William and Mary was to be occupied and repaired.

This first act of hostility on the part of Great Britain was adopted at a time when America thought of nothing more than peaceable petitioning and a non-importation agreement, which the adverse interests of the merchants had as yet rendered void.

1768.
June.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

DOES MASSACHUSETTS RESCIND? HILLSBOROUGH'S COLONIAL
ADMINISTRATION CONTINUED.

JUNE—JULY, 1768.

THE commissioners of the customs, in the manner of executing their office, did not shun to give offence. The
1768. "Romney," a ship of fifty guns, sent from Halifax at
June. their request, had, for about a month, lain at anchor in the harbor of Boston, and impressed New England men returning from sea. On the tenth of June, one man who had been impressed was rescued. The request to accept a substitute for another the captain rejected with a storm of angry abuse; and he continued impressments, in violation, as the lawyers and people believed, of an explicit statute.

The sloop "Liberty," belonging to John Hancock, had discharged her cargo and had taken in freight for a new voyage; when, on the same day, near sunset, and just as the laborers had broken off work, the officers of the customs, obeying the written directions of the commissioners, seized her for a false entry, which it was pretended had been made several weeks before. The collector thought she might still remain at the wharf; but, according to previous concert, boats from the man-of-war cut her moorings and towed the sloop away to the "Romney."

A crowd "of boys and negroes" gathered at the heels of the custom-house officers, and threw stones, bricks, and dirt, alarming them, but doing no serious mischief. A mob broke windows in the house of the comptroller and of an inspector, and burned a boat of the collector's on Boston common. At about one o'clock, they dispersed, and the town resumed its quiet.

The next day, nothing indicated a recurrence of riots; and the council appointed a committee to ascertain the facts attending the seizure.

The commissioners had not been harmed, nor approached, nor menaced; but they chose to consider the incident of the last evening an insurrection, and four of the five went on board the "Romney;" perhaps a little from panic, but more to insure the active interposition of the British government. Temple, one of their number, refused to take part in the artifice, and remained in full security on shore.

On Sunday, while all the people were "at meeting," the fugitive officers, pretending that "the honor of the crown would be hazarded by their return to Boston," informed Bernard by letter that they could not, "consistent with the honor of their commission, act in any business of the revenue under such an influence as prevailed" in Boston, and declared their wish to withdraw to the castle. "They have abdicated," said the people of Boston, and "may they never return." Everybody knew they really were in no danger. The council found that the riot of Friday had been only "a small disturbance." "Dangerous disturbances," reported Gage, whose information came from royalists, "are not to be apprehended."

On the fourteenth, the attendance was so great at a legal town-meeting that they adjourned from Fan-^{1768.}
euil Hall to the Old South meeting-house, where Otis was^{June.} elected moderator, with rapturous applause.

An address to the governor was unanimously agreed upon, which twenty-one men were appointed to deliver. On adjourning the meeting to the next afternoon, Otis, the moderator, strongly recommended peace and good order; and did not despair that their grievances might, in time, be removed. "If not," said he, "and we are called on to defend our liberties and privileges, I hope and believe we shall, one and all, resist even unto blood; but I pray God Almighty that this may never so happen."

The committee moved in a procession of eleven chaises to the house of the governor in the country, to present the address, in which the town claimed for the province the

sole right of taxing itself, expressed a hope that the board of customs would never reassume the exercise of their office, commented on impressment, and demanded the removal of the "Romney" from the harbor. In words which Otis approved and probably assisted to write, they said: "To contend with our parent state is the most shocking and dreadful extremity, but tamely to relinquish the only security we and our posterity retain for the enjoyment of our lives and properties, without one struggle, is so humiliating and base that we cannot support the reflection. It is at your option to prevent this distressed and justly incensed people from effecting too much, and from the shame and reproach of attempting too little."

1768.

June.

Bernard received this address with obsequious courtesy; and the next day gave them a written answer, clearing himself of the measures complained of, promising to stop impressments, and desiring nothing so much as to be an instrument of conciliation between them and the parent state.

No sooner had he sent this message, than he and the officers of the crown busied themselves in concert to get regiments ordered to Boston. The commissioners of the customs besought of Gage and Hood further protection. To the lords of the treasury they reported "a long concerted and extensive plan of resistance to the authority of Great Britain," breaking out in "acts of violence sooner than was intended;" and "that nothing but the immediate exertion of military power would prevent an open revolt of the town of Boston, and probably of the provinces."

"If there is not a revolt," wrote Bernard to Hillsborough, "the leaders of the Sons of Liberty must falsify their words and change their purposes." Hutchinson sounded the alarm to various correspondents, and, through Whately, to Greenville. To interpret and enforce the correspondence, Hallowell, the comptroller, was despatched to London.

The town divined the purpose of its enemies; and, at its legal meeting on the seventeenth, instructing its representatives in words prepared by John Adams, it put its sentiments on record. "After the repeal of the last American

stamp act," it said, "we were happy in the pleasing prospect of a restoration of tranquillity and harmony. But the principle on which that detestable act was founded continues in full force, and a revenue is still demanded from America, and appropriated to the maintenance of swarms of officers and pensioners in idleness and luxury. It is our fixed resolution to maintain our loyalty and due subordination to the British parliament, as the supreme legislative in all cases of necessity for the preservation of the whole empire. At the same time, it is our unalterable resolution to assert and vindicate our dear and invaluable rights and liberties, at the utmost hazard of our lives and fortunes; and we have a full and rational confidence that no designs formed against them will ever prosper.

"Every person who shall solicit or promote the importation of troops at this time is an enemy to this town and province, and a disturber of the peace and good order of both."

The next morning, the general court, which was in session, on motion probably of Otis, appointed a joint committee to inquire "if measures had been taken, or were taking, for the execution of the late revenue acts of parliament by a naval or military force." In the midst of these scenes arrived Hillsborough's letter, directing Massachusetts to rescind its resolutions; and on the twenty-
1768.
June.

first, after timid consultations between Bernard, Hutchinson, and Oliver, it was communicated to the house. The assembly were aware that they were deliberating upon more important subjects than had ever engaged the attention of an American legislature. They were consoled by the sympathy of Connecticut and New Jersey. But, when the letter from Virginia was received, it gave courage more than all the rest. "This is a glorious day," said Samuel Adams, using words which, seven years later, he was to repeat. The merchants of Boston renewed the agreement not to import from England.

The house, employing the pen of Samuel Adams, without altering a word in his draft, reported a letter to Lord Hillsborough, in which they showed that the circular letter of

February was, indeed, the declared sense of a large majority of the body by which it was issued; and they expressed their reliance on the clemency of the king, that to petition him would not be deemed inconsistent with respect for the British constitution, nor to acquaint their fellow-subjects of their having done so be discountenanced as an inflammatory proceeding.

Then came the great question, taken in the fullest house ever remembered. The votes were given by word of mouth; and, against seventeen that were willing to yield, ninety-two refused to rescind. They finished their work by a message to the governor, thoroughly affirming the doings from which they had been ordered to dissent. On this, Bernard prorogued, and then dissolved the assembly.

1768. Massachusetts was left without a legislature. Its
July. people had no intention but to defend their liberties, which had the sanction of natural right and of historic tradition. "The Americans," observed the clear-sighted Du Châtelet, "have no longer need of support from the British crown, and see in the projects of their metropolis measures of tyranny and oppression." "I apprehend a breach between the two countries," owned Franklin, who could not understand what the Boston people meant by the "subordination" of their assembly to parliament, and thought that, according to the more numerous and weighty arguments, the colonies and Great Britain were separate states, with the same king, but different legislatures.

"The whole body of the people of New Hampshire were resolved to stand or fall with the Massachusetts." "It is best," counselled Langdon, of Portsmouth, "for the Americans to let the king know the danger of a violent rending of the colonies from the mother country." "No assembly on the continent," said Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, "will ever concede that parliament has a right to tax the colonies." "The parliament of England has no more jurisdiction over us," declared the politicians of that colony, "than the parliament of Paris." "We cannot believe," wrote William Williams, of Lebanon, "that they will draw

the sword on their own children ; but, if they do, our blood is more at their service than our liberties."

In New York, the merchants still held those meetings which Hillsborough condemned. "The circumstances of the colonies demand a firmer union," said men of Pennsylvania. The assembly of Maryland treated Lord Hillsborough's letter with the contempt he had ordered them to show for the circular of Massachusetts, and they sent their thanks to "their sister colony, in whose opinion they exactly coincided." As for South Carolina, they could not enough praise the glorious ninety-two who ^{1768.} would not rescind ; ^{July.} toasting them at banquets ; and marching by night through the streets of Charleston, in processions to their honor, by the blaze of two and ninety torches.

English statesmen were blind to the character of events which were leading to the renovation of the world. Not so the Americans. Village theologians studied the Book of Revelation to see which seal was next to be broken, which angel was next to sound his trumpet. "Is not God preparing the way in his providence," thus New England ministers communed together, "for some remarkable revolutions in Christendom, both in polity and religion?"

Who will deny that humanity has a life and progress of its own, swaying its complex mind by the guiding truths which it develops as it advances? While New England was drawing from the Bible proof of the nearness of the overthrow of tyranny, Turgot, at Paris, explained to David Hume the perfectibility and onward movement of the race. "The British government," said he, "is very far from being an enlightened one. As yet none is thoroughly so. But tyranny, combined with superstition, vainly strives to stifle light and liberty by methods alike atrocious and useless ; the world will be conducted through transient disorders to a happier condition."

In that progress, the emancipation of America was to form a glorious part, and was the great object of the French minister for foreign affairs. "We must put aside projects and attend to facts," wrote Choiseul to Du Châ-

telet in July, after a conversation of six hours with a person intimately acquainted with America. "My idea, which perhaps is but a reverie, is to examine the possibility of a treaty of commerce, both of importation and exportation, of which the obvious advantages might attract the Americans. According to the prognostications of sensible men, who have had opportunity to study their character, and to measure their progress from day to day in the spirit of independence, the separation of the American colonies from the metropolis, sooner or later, must come. The plan I propose hastens its epoch. It is the true interest of the colonies to secure for ever their entire liberty, and establish their direct commerce with France and with the world. We have every reason to hope that the government on this side will conduct itself in a manner to increase the breach, not to close it up. Such is its way. True, some sagacious observers think it not only possible, but easy, to reconcile the interests of the colonies and the mother country; but the course pursued thus far by the British government seems to me completely opposite to what it ought to be to effect this conciliation."

While time and humanity, the principles of English liberty, the impulse of European philosophy, and the policy of France were all assisting to emancipate America, the British colonial administration, which was to stop the force of moral causes in their influence on the affairs of men, vibrated in its choice of measures between terror and artifice. American affairs were left by the other ministers very much to the management of Hillsborough; and he took his opinions from Bernard. That favorite governor was promising the council of Massachusetts that, if they would omit to discuss the question of the power of parliament, he would support their petition for relief. The
 1768.
 July. council followed the advice; and Bernard, as a fulfilling of his engagement, wrote a letter which he showed to several of them, recommending that part of the petition praying relief against such acts as were made "for the purpose of drawing a revenue from the colonies." Then, in a secret despatch of the same date, he sent an elaborate

argument against the repeal or any mitigation of the late revenue act; quieting his conscience for the fraud by saying that "drawing a revenue from the colonies" meant carrying a revenue out of them; and that he wished to see the revenue from the port duties expended on the resident officers of the crown.

1768.
July.

Great Britain at that time had a colonial secretary who encouraged this duplicity, and wrote an answer to be shown the council, keeping up the deception, and even using the name of the king, as a partner in the falsehood. Hillsborough greedily drank in the flattery offered him, and affected distress at showing the king the expressions of the partiality of Bernard. In undertaking the "very arduous task of reducing America into good order," he congratulated himself on having "the aid of a governor so zealous, able, and active," who, having educated Hutchinson for his successor, was now promised the rank of a baronet and the administration of Virginia.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE REGULATORS OF NORTH CAROLINA. HILLSBOROUGH'S
ADMINISTRATION OF THE COLONIES CONTINUED.

JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1768.

THE people of Boston had gone out of favor with almost everybody in England. Even Rockingham had lost
^{1768.}
July. all patience, saying the Americans were determined to leave their friends on his side the water, without the power of advancing in their behalf a shadow of excuse. This was the state of public feeling, when, on the nineteenth of July, Hallowell arrived in London, with letters giving an exaggerated account of what had happened in Boston on the tenth of June. London, Liverpool, and Bristol grew anxious; stocks fell. There arose rumors of a suspension of commerce, and America owed the merchants and manufacturers of England four millions sterling.

Nearly all the ministers united in denouncing "vengeance against that insolent town" of Boston. "If the government," said they, "now gives way, as it did about the stamp act, it will be all over with its authority in America." As Grafton had escaped to the country, Hallowell was examined at the treasury chambers before Lord North and Jenkinson. He represented that the determination to break the revenue laws was not universal; that the revenue officers who remained there were not insulted; that the spirit displayed in Boston did not extend beyond its limits; that Salem and Marblehead made no opposition to the payment of the duties; that the people in the country would not join, if Boston were actually to resist government; and that the four commissioners at the castle

could not return to town, till measures were taken for their protection.

The memorial of the commissioners themselves to the lords of the treasury announced that "there had been a long concerted and extensive plan of resistance to the authority of Great Britain; that the people of Boston had hastened to acts of violence sooner than was intended; that nothing but the immediate exertion of military power could prevent an open revolt of the town, which would probably spread throughout the provinces." The counter memorial in behalf of Boston, proving that the riot had been caused by the imprudent and violent proceedings of the officers of the "Romney," met little notice. At the same time, letters arrived from Virginia, with petitions and memorial, "expressed with modesty and dutiful submission;" but, under the calmest language, uttering a protest against the right of parliament to tax America for a revenue.

1768.
July.

The party of Bedford, and the duke himself, spoke openly of the necessity of employing force to subdue the inhabitants of Boston, and to make a striking example of the most seditious, in order to inspire the other colonies with terror. This policy, said Weymouth, will be adopted.

Shelburne, on the contrary, observed that people very much exaggerated the difficulty; that it was understood in its origin, its principles, and its consequences; that it would be absurd to wish to send to America a single additional soldier or vessel of war to reduce colonies, which would return to the mother country of themselves from affection and from interest, when once the form of their contributions should be agreed upon. But his opinions had no effect, except that the king became "daily" more importunate with Grafton that Shelburne should be dismissed.

The cabinet were also "much vexed" at Shelburne's reluctance to engage in secret intrigues with Corsica, which resisted its cession by Genoa to France. The subject was therefore taken out of his hands, and the act of bad faith conducted by his colleagues. Unsolicited by Paoli, the general of the insurgents, they sent to him Dunant, a Genevese,

as a British emissary, with written as well as verbal instructions.

Paoli was found destitute of every thing; but he gave assurances of the purpose of the Corsican people to defend their liberty; and persuaded the British ministry that, if provided with what he needed, he could hold out for eighteen months. "A moment was not lost in supplying most of the articles requested by the Corsicans," "in the manner that would least risk a breach with France;" "and many thousand stands of arms were furnished from the stock in the Tower, yet so as to give no indication that they were sent from government." While British ministers were enjoying the thought of success in their intrigues, they had the vexation to find Paoli himself obliged to retire by way of Leghorn to England. But their notorious interference was remembered in France as a precedent.

^{1768.}
^{July.} When, on the twenty-seventh of July, the cabinet definitively agreed on the measures to be pursued towards America, it sought to unite all England by resting its policy on Rockingham's declaratory act, and to divide America by proceeding only against Boston.

For Virginia, it was resolved that the office of its governor should no longer remain a sinecure, as it had been for three quarters of a century; and Amherst, who would not go out to reside there, was displaced. In selecting a new governor, the choice fell on Lord Botetourt; and it was a wise one, not merely because he had a pleasing address and was attentive to business, but because he was ingenuous and frank, sure to write truly respecting Virginia, and sure never to ask the secretary to conceal his reports. He was to be conducted to his government in a seventy-four, and to take with him a coach of state. He was to call a new legislature; to closet its members, as well as those of the council; and to humor them in almost any thing except the explicit denial of the authority of parliament. It would have been ill for American independence, if a man like him had been sent to Massachusetts.

But "with Massachusetts," said Camden, "it will not be very difficult to deal, if that is the only disobedient province."

For Boston, his voice did not entreat mercy. The cry was, it must be made to repent of its insolence, and its town-meetings no longer be suffered to threaten and defy the government of Great Britain. Two additional regiments, of five hundred men each, and a frigate, were at once to be sent there; the ship of the line, which was to take Botetourt to Virginia, might also remain in those seas. A change in the charter of Massachusetts was resolved on by Hillsborough; and he sent over orders to inquire "if any persons had committed acts which, under the statute of Henry VIII. against treason committed abroad, might justify their being brought to England to be tried in the king's bench." Salem, a town whose representatives, contrary, however, to the judgment of their constituents, voted in favor of rescinding, was indicated as the future capital of the province.

At this time, Bernard received from Gage an offer of troops; but the council, after a just analysis of the late events, gave their opinion that it was not for his majesty's service or the peace of the province that any should be required. Bernard dared not avow his own opinion; but, in his spite, he wrote to Hillsborough for "positive orders" not to call "a new assembly until the people should get truer notions of their rights and interests."

The advice of the council was inspired by loyalty. All attempts at a concert to cease importations had hitherto failed; the menace of the arrival of troops revived the design, and, early in August, most of the merchants of the town of Boston subscribed an agreement that they would not send for any kind of merchandise from Great Britain, some few articles of necessity excepted, during the year following the first day of January, 1769; and that they would not import any tea, paper, glass, paints or colors, until the act imposing duties upon them should be repealed.

On the anniversary of the fourteenth of August, the streets of Boston resounded with songs in praise of freedom; and its inhabitants promised themselves that all ages would applaud their courage.

1768.
Aug.

Come, join hand in hand, brave Americans all,
 By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall ;
 To die we can bear, but to serve we disdain ;
 For shame is to freedom more dreadful than pain.
 In freedom we're born, in freedom we'll live ;
 Our purses are ready, steady, boys, steady,
 Not as slaves, but as freemen, our money we'll give.

The British administration believed union impossible.

1768.
 Aug.

"You will learn what transpires in America infinitely better in the city than at court," wrote Choiseul to the French minister in England. "Never mind what Lord Hillsborough says ;" "the private accounts of American merchants to their correspondents in London are more trustworthy."

The obedient official sought information in every direction ; especially of Franklin, than whom no man in England uttered more prophetic warnings, or in a more benign or more loyal spirit. "He has for years been predicting to the ministers the necessary consequences of their American measures," said the French envoy ; "he is a man of rare intelligence and well-disposed to England ; but, fortunately, is very little consulted." While the British government neglected the opportunities of becoming well informed respecting America, Choiseul collected newspapers, documents, resolves, instructions of towns, and even sermons of the Puritan clergy, and proceeded to construct his theory.

"The forces of the English in America are scarcely ten thousand men, and they have no cavalry:" thus reasoned the dispassionate statesmen of France ; "but the militia of the colonies numbers four hundred thousand men, and among them several regiments of cavalry. The people are enthusiastic for liberty, and have inherited a republican spirit, which the consciousness of strength and circumstances may push to extremities. They will not be intimidated by the presence of troops, too insignificant to cause alarm." It was therefore inferred that it would be hazardous for England to attempt reducing the colonies by force.

"But why," asked Choiseul, "are not deputies from each colony admitted into parliament as members?" And it

was answered that "the Americans objected to such a solution, because they could not obtain a representation proportioned to their population, because their distance made regular attendance in parliament impossible, and because they knew its venality and corruption. They had no other representatives than agents at London, who kept them so well informed that no project to their disadvantage could come upon them by surprise." By this reasoning, Choiseul was satisfied that an American representation in parliament was not practicable; that "no other method of conciliation" would prove less difficult, and that unanimity in America would compel the British government to risk the most violent measures, or to yield.

When, on the nineteenth of August, England heard that Massachusetts had, by a vast majority of its representatives, refused to rescind the resolutions of the preceding winter, Lord Mansfield was of the opinion that all the members of the late legislative assembly at Boston should be sent for to give an account of their conduct, and that the rigors of the law should be exercised against those who should persist in refusing to submit to parliament. "Where rebellion begins," said he, "the laws cease, and they can invoke none in their favor."

To the ambassador of Spain, he expressed the opinion that the affair of the colonies was the gravest and most momentous that England had had since 1688, and saw in America the beginning of a long and even infinite series of revolutions. "The Americans," he insisted, "must first be compelled to submit to the authority of parliament; it is only after having reduced them to the most entire obedience that an inquiry can be made into their real or pretended grievances." The subject interested every court in Europe, was watched in Madrid, and was the general theme of conversation in Paris, where Fuentes, the Spanish minister, expressed the hope that "the English might master their colonies, lest the Spanish colonies also should catch the flame."

1768.
Sept.

"I dread the event," said Camden, "because the colonies are more sober, and consequently more determined in their

present opposition, than they were upon the stamp act."

1768.
Sept. "What is to be done?" asked Grafton; and Camden answered: "Indeed, my dear lord, I do not know."

The parliament cannot repeal the act in question, because that would admit the American principle to be right, and their own doctrine erroneous. Therefore it must execute the law. How to execute it, I am at a loss. Boston is the ringleading province; and, if any country is to be chastised, the punishment ought to be levelled there."

But the system which made government subordinate to the gains of patronage was everywhere producing its natural results. In South Carolina, the profits of the place of provost-marshal were enjoyed under a patent as a sinecure by a resident in England, whose deputy had the monopoly of serving processes throughout the province, and yet was bound to attend courts nowhere but at Charleston. As a consequence, the herdsmen near the frontier adjudicated their own disputes and REGULATED their own police, even at the risk of a civil war.

The blood of "rebels" against oppression was first shed among the settlers on the branches of the Cape Fear River. The emigrants to the rich upland of North Carolina had little coin or currency; yet, as the revenue of the province was raised by a poll-tax, the poorest laborer among them must contribute as much as the richest merchant. The sheriffs were grown insolent and arbitrary; often distraining property even quadruple the value of the tax, and avoiding the owner, till it was too late for its redemption. All this was the more hateful, as a part of the amount was expended by the governor in building himself a palace; and a part was notoriously embezzled. The collecting officers and all others, encouraged by the imperious example of Fanning, who loaded the titles to estates with doubts and charged illegal fees for recording new deeds, continued their extortions, sure of support from the hierarchy of men in place. Juries were packed; the grand jury was almost the agent of the extortioners. The cost of suits at law, under any circumstances exorbitant, was enhanced by unprecedented appeals from the county court to the remote

superior court, where a farmer of small means would be ruined by the expense of attendance with his witnesses. "We tell you in the anguish of our souls," said they to the governor, "we cannot, dare not go to law with our powerful antagonists; that step, whenever taken, will terminate in the ruin of ourselves and families." Besides, the chief justice was Martin Howard, a profligate time-server, raised to the bench as a convenient reward for hav-
 ing suffered in the time of the stamp act, and ever ready to use his place as a screen for the dishonest profits of men in office, and the instrument of political power. Never yet had the tribunal of justice been so mocked.

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Sept.

Goaded by oppression and an intuitive jealousy of frauds, men associated as "regulators," binding themselves to avoid, if possible, all payment of taxes, except such as were levied, and were to be applied according to law; and "to pay no more fees than the law allows, unless under compulsion, and then to bear open testimony against it." They proposed to hold a general meeting quarterly; but they rested their hopes of redress on the independent use of their elective franchise. "An officer," said the inhabitants of the west side of Haw River, "is a servant to the public; and we are determined to have the officers of this country under a better and honester regulation."

It was easy to foresee that the rashness of ignorant though well-meaning husbandmen, maddened by oppression, would soon expose them to the inexorable vengeance of their adversaries. As one of the regulators rode to Hillsborough, his horse was, in mere wantonness, seized for his levy, but was soon rescued by a party, armed with clubs and eleven muskets. Some one at Fanning's door showed pistols, and threatened to fire among them; upon which, four or five unruly persons in the crowd discharged their guns into the roof of the house, making two or three holes, and breaking two panes of glass without further damage. At Fanning's instance, a warrant was issued by the chief justice to arrest three of the rioters, and bring them all the way to Halifax.

Raising a clamor against the odiousness of rebellion, Fan-

ning himself, as military commander in Orange, called out seven companies of militia; but not above one hundred and twenty men appeared with arms, and, of these, all but a few stood neutral, or declared in favor of the regulators. In Anson county, on the twenty-first of April, a mob interrupted the inferior court; and, moreover, bound themselves by oath to pay no taxes, and to protect each other against warrants of distress or imprisonment.

In Orange county, the discontented did not harbor a thought of violence, and were only preparing a petition to the governor and council. "They call themselves regulators," said Fanning, "but by lawyers they must be termed rebels and traitors;" and he calumniated them as plotting to take his life, and lay Hillsborough in ashes. Meantime, Tryon, who, as the king's representative, should have joined impartiality with lenity, made himself an open volunteer on the side of Fanning; and, while he advised the people to petition the provincial legislature, he empowered Fanning to call out the militia of eight counties besides Orange, and suppress insurrections by force.

The people of Orange, and equally of Anson, Rowan, and Mecklenburg, were unanimous in their resolution to claim relief of the governor. Flattery was therefore mixed with menaces, to allure the regulators to sign a petition which Fanning had artfully drafted, and which rather invoked pardon than demanded redress. "You may assure yourself, from my knowledge of things," wrote Fanning's agent to Herman Husbands, "one couched in any other terms cannot go down with the governor. The hands and the feet should not run in mutiny against the head." But he vainly sought to terrify the rustic patriot by threats of confiscation of property, perpetual imprisonment, and even the penalties for high treason.

On the last day of April, the regulators of Orange county, peaceably assembled on Rocky River, appointed twelve men, on their behalf, "to settle the several matters of which they complained;" instructed "the settlers" to procure a table of the taxables, taxes, and legal fees of

public officers; and framed a petition to the general assembly for a fair hearing and redress.

Fanning, on his side, unable to induce the regulators to heed the offer of his services, advertised their union as a daring insurrection, announced his authority to employ against them the militia of eight counties, and bade them expect "no mitigation of punishment for their crimes;" at the same time, twenty-seven armed men of his procuring, chiefly sheriffs and their dependants and officers, were suddenly despatched on secret service, and, after travelling all night, arrived near break of day, on Monday the second of May, at Sandy Creek, where they made prisoners of Herman Husbands and William Butler.

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Against Husbands, there was no just charge whatever. He had never so much as joined "the regulation;" had never been concerned in any tumult; and was seized at home on his own land. The "astonishing news," therefore, of his captivity, set the county in a ferment. Regulators and their opponents, judging that none were safe, prepared alike to go down to his rescue, but were turned back by "the glad tidings" that the governor himself had promised to receive their complaints.

Hurried to jail, insulted, tied with cords, and threatened with the gallows, Husbands succeeded, by partial concessions, the use of money, and by giving bonds, to obtain his liberty. But it seemed to him that "he was left alone;" and how could an unlettered farmer contend against so many? In his despair, he "took the woods;" but, hearing that the governor had promised that the extortioners might be brought to trial, he resolved to impeach Fanning.

The regulators, on their part, prepared their petition, which was signed by about five hundred men, fortified it with a precise specification of acts of extortion, confirmed in each instance by oath, and presented it to the governor, with their plain and simple narrative, in the hope that "naked truth," though offered by the ignorant, might weigh as much as the artful representations of their "powerful adversary." Their language was that of loyalty to the king, and, with a rankling sense of their wrongs, breathed

affection to the British government, "as the wholesomest constitution in being." It is Tryon himself who relates that, "in their commotions, no mischief had been done," and that "the disturbances in Anson and Orange had subsided." The regulators awaited the result of the suits at law. But Tryon would not wait; and, repairing to Hillsborough, demanded of them unconditional and immediate submission, and that twelve of them should give bonds, in a thousand pounds each, for the peaceful conduct of them all. An alarm went abroad, the first of the kind, that Indians, as well as men from the lower counties, were to be raised to cut off the inhabitants of Orange county as "rebels." About fifteen hundred men were actually in arms; and yet when, in September, the causes came on for trial in the presence of Tryon, and with such a display of troops, Husbands was acquitted on every charge; and Fanning, who had been a volunteer witness against him, was convicted on six several indictments. A verdict was also given against three regulators. The court punished Fanning by a fine of one penny on each of his convictions; the regulators were sentenced to pay fifty pounds each, and be imprisoned for six months.

Tryon would have sent troops to reduce the regulators by fire and sword, but was overruled by his council of war. At the next election, North Carolina changed thirty of its delegates; yet its people desponded, and saw no way for their extrication.

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE TOWNS OF MASSACHUSETTS MEET IN CONVENTION.
 HILLSBOROUGH'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE COLONIES CONTINUED.

SEPTEMBER, 1768.

THE approach of military rule convinced Samuel Adams of the necessity of American independence. From this moment, he struggled for it deliberately and unremittingly, as became one who delighted in the stern creed of Calvin, which, wherever it has prevailed, in Geneva, Holland, Scotland, Puritan England, New England, has spread intelligence, severity of morals, love of freedom, and courage. He gave himself to his glorious work as devotedly as though he had in his keeping the liberties of mankind, and was a chosen instrument for fulfilling what had been decreed by the divine counsels from all eternity. "He was," said Bernard, "one of the principal and most desperate of the chiefs of the faction;" "the all in all," wrote Hutchinson, who wished him "taken off," and who has left on record that his purity was always above all price. Henceforward, one high service absorbed his soul, the independence of his country. To promote that end, he was ready to serve, and never claim the reward of service. From a town of merchants and mechanics, Boston grew with him to be the hope of the world; and the sons of toil, as they perilled fortune and life for the liberties they inherited, rose to be, and to feel themselves to be, the champions of human freedom.

With the people of Boston, in the street, at public meetings, at the ship-yards, wherever he met them, he reasoned that it would be just to destroy every soldier whose foot should touch the shore. "The king," he would say, "has

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no right to send troops here to invade the country ; if they come, they will come as foreign enemies." "We will not submit to any tax," he spoke out, "nor become slaves. We will take up arms, and spend our last drop of blood before the king and parliament shall impose on us, or settle crown officers, independent of the colonial legislature, to dragoon us." It was not reverence for kings, he would say, that brought the ancestors of New England to America. They fled from kings and bishops, and looked up to the King of kings. "We are free, therefore," he concluded, "and want no king." "The times were never better in Rome, than when they had no king, and were a free state." As he reflected on the extent of the colonies in America, he saw that the vast empire which was forming must fashion its own institutions, and reform those of England.

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But, at this time, Massachusetts had no representative body. Bernard had hinted that instructions might be given to forbid the calling of the assembly, even at the annual period in May ; and to reduce the province to submission by the indefinite suspension of its legislature. Was there no remedy ? The men of Boston and the villages round about it were ready to spring to arms. But of what use were "unconnected" movements ? Ten thousand men had assembled suddenly, in 1746, on the rumor of the approach of a French expedition ; thirty thousand could at a signal come forth, with gun in hand, to drive the British troops into the sea ; but was there the steady courage to keep passion in check and restrain disorder ?

On the fifth of September, there appeared in the "Boston Gazette" a paper in the form of queries, directing attention to the original charter of the colony, which left to the people the choice of their governor, and reserved to the crown no negative on their laws.

Wednesday, the seventh, the "Senegal" left the port. The next day, the "Duke of Cumberland" sailed for Nova Scotia, and Bernard let it be known that both vessels of war were gone to fetch three regiments. Sullen discontent appeared on almost every brow. On the ninth, a petition was signed for a town-meeting "to consider of the most

wise, constitutional, loyal, and salutary measures" in reference to the expected arrival of troops.

Union was the heart's desire of Boston; union first with all the towns of the province, and next with the sister colonies; and the confidence which must precede union could be established only by self-control. On Satur-^{1768.}
day, Otis, Samuel Adams, and Warren met at the^{Sept.} house of Warren, and drew up the plan for the town-meeting, the resolves, and the order of the debates. Otis had long before pointed out the proper mode of redress in the contingency which had now occurred.

All day Sunday, Bernard suffered from "false alarms and threats as usual;" insisted that a rising was agreed upon; and, in his fright at an empty barrel placed on the beacon, actually called a meeting of the council.

On Monday the twelfth, the inhabitants of Boston gathered in a town-meeting at Faneuil Hall, where the arms belonging to the town, to the number of four hundred muskets, lay in boxes on the floor. After a fervid prayer from Cooper, minister of the congregation in Brattle Street, and the election of Otis as moderator, a committee inquired of the governor the grounds of his apprehensions that regiments of his majesty's troops were daily to be expected; and requested him to issue precepts for a general assembly.

On the next morning at ten o'clock, report was made to the town that Bernard refused, and that troops^{1768.}
were expected. Rashness on the part of the people^{Sept. 13.} of Boston would have forfeited the confidence of their own province, and the sympathies of the rest; while feebleness would have overwhelmed their cause with ridicule. It was necessary for them to halt, but to find a position where it was safe to do so; and they began their defences with the declaration that "it is the first principle in civil society, founded in nature and reason, that no law of the society can be binding on any individual, without his consent, given by himself in person, or by his representative of his own free election." They further appealed not to natural rights only, but to the precedents of the Revolution of 1688; to the conditions on which the house of Hanover received the

throne; to the bill of rights of William and Mary; and to their own charter; and then they proceeded to resolve, "That the inhabitants of the town of Boston will, at the utmost peril of their lives and fortunes, maintain and defend their rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities." To remove uncertainty respecting these rights, they voted "that money could not be levied, nor a standing army be kept up in the province, but by their own free consent."

^{1768.}
^{Sept. 13.} This report was divers times distinctly read and considered, and it was unanimously voted that it be accepted and recorded. The record remains to the honor of Boston among all posterity.

"There are the arms," said Otis, pointing to the chests in which they lay. "When an attempt is made against your liberties, they will be delivered." One man cried out impatiently that they wanted a head; another, an old man, was ready to rise and resume all power; a third reasoned that liberty, like life, may be defended against the aggressor.

But every excessive opinion was overruled or restrained; and the town, following the precedent of 1688, proposed a convention in Faneuil Hall. To this body they elected Cushing, Otis, Samuel Adams, and Hancock a committee to represent them; and directed their selectmen to inform the several towns of the province of their design. It was also voted by a very great majority that every one of the inhabitants should provide himself with fire-arms and ammunition. A cordial letter was read from the merchants of New York, communicating the agreement of themselves and the mechanics to cease importing British goods.

It was also unanimously voted that the selectmen wait on the several ministers of the gospel within the town, to desire that the next Tuesday might be set apart as a day of fasting and prayer; and it was so kept by all the Congregational churches.

^{1768.}
^{Sept. 14.} On the fourteenth, just after a vessel had arrived in forty days from Falmouth, bringing news how angry people in England were with the Americans, that three regiments were coming over, that fifty state pris-

oners were to be sent home, the selectmen issued a circular, repeating the history of their grievances, and inviting every town in the province to send a committee to the convention, to give "sound and wholesome advice," and "prevent any sudden and unconnected measures." The city of London had never done the like in the great rebellion.

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The proceedings of the meeting in Boston had a greater tendency towards a revolution than any previous measures in any of the colonies. Bernard was sure that, but for the "Romney," a rebellion would have broken out; he reported a design against the castle, and "that his government was subdued." The offer of a baronetcy and the vice-government of Virginia coming to hand, he accepted them "most thankfully," and hoped to embark for England in a fortnight. He had hardly indulged in this day-dream for twenty-four hours, when his expectations were dashed by the account of Botetourt's appointment, and he began to fear that he should lose Massachusetts also. Of a sudden he was become the most anxious and unhappy man in Boston.

On Monday, the nineteenth, Bernard announced to the council that two regiments were expected from Ireland, two others from Halifax, and desired that for one of them quarters might be prepared within the town. "The process in quartering," replied the council, "must be regulated by the act of parliament;" and that required the civil officers to "quarter and billet the officers and soldiers in his majesty's service in the barracks; and only in case there was not sufficient room in the barracks to find other quarters for the residue of them." The council therefore, after an adjournment of three days, during which "the militia were under arms, exercising and firing," spoke out plainly, that, as the barracks at Castle William were sufficient to accommodate both regiments ordered from Halifax, the act of parliament required that they should be quartered there. Upon this, Bernard produced the letter of General Gage, by which it appeared that one only of the coming regiments was ordered for the present to Castle William, and one to the town of

Boston. "It is no disrespect to the general," answered the council, "to say that no order whatsoever, coming from a general or a secretary of war, or any less authority than his majesty and parliament, can supersede an act of parliament;" and they insisted that General Gage could not have intended otherwise, for the act provided "that, if any military officer should take upon himself to quarter soldiers in any of his majesty's dominions in America otherwise than was limited and allowed by the act, he should be *ipso facto* cashiered, and disabled to hold any military employment in his majesty's service."

The council, who were conducted in their opposition by James Bowdoin, one of the most heartily loyal men in the king's dominions, were in the right in the interpretation of the law, and were prudent in their advice; but Bernard only drew from their conduct a new reason for urging the forfeiture of the colony's charter.

1768. On the appointed day, Thursday, the twenty-second
Sept. of September, the anniversary of the king's coronation, about seventy persons, from sixty-six towns, came together in Faneuil Hall in convention; and their number increased, till ninety-six towns and eight districts, nearly every settlement in the colony, were represented. By the mere act of assembling, they showed that, if the policy of suppressing the legislature should be persisted in, legislative government could still be instituted; and they marked their own sense of the character of this meeting by electing the speaker and clerk of the late house of representatives to the same offices in the convention.

"They have committed treason," shouted all the crown officers in America. "At least the selectmen, in issuing the circular for a convention, have done so;" and pains were taken to get at some of their original letters with their signatures. "Boston," said Gage, "is mutinous," "its resolves treasonable and desperate." "Mad people procured them; mad people govern the town and influence the province."

The convention requested the governor to summon the constitutional assembly of the province, in order to consider

of measures for preventing an unconstitutional encroachment of military power on the civil establishment. The governor refused to receive this petition; and he admonished "the gentlemen assembled at Faneuil Hall, under the name of a convention," to break up instantly and separate themselves, or they should be made to "repent of their rashness." The message was received with derision.

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The council, adhering to their purpose of conforming strictly to the billeting act, reduced to writing the reasons for their decision to provide no quarters in town till the barracks at the castle should be full; and, on the twenty-sixth, communicated the paper to Bernard, published it in the "Boston Gazette," and sent a copy to Lord Hillsborough. It proved a disregard for an act of parliament by the very men who assumed to enforce parliamentary authority. On the side of the province, no law was violated; only men would not buy tea, glass, colors, or paper: on the side of Hillsborough, Bernard, and Gage, requisitions were made contrary to the words and the indisputable intent of the statute. In the very beginning of coercive measures, Boston gained a moral victory: it placed itself on the side of law, and proved its enemies to be law-breakers. The immediate effect of the publication was, says Bernard, "the greatest blow that had been given to the king's government." "Nine tenths of the people considered the declaration of the council just."

The convention, which remained but six days in session, repeated the protest of Massachusetts against taxation of the colonies by the British parliament; against a standing army; against the danger to "the liberties of America from a united body of pensioners and soldiers." They renewed their petition to the king. They resolved to preserve good order, by the aid of the civil magistrate alone. Then, "relying on Him who ruleth according to his pleasure, with unerring wisdom and irresistible influence, in the hearts of the children of men," they dissolved themselves, leaving the care for the public to the council.

This was the first example in America of the restoration

of affairs by delay. Indiscreet men murmured; but the intelligent perceived the greatness of the result. When the attorney and solicitor general of England were called upon to find traces of high treason in what had been done, De Grey as well as Dunning declared none had been committed. "Look into the papers," said De Grey, "and see how well these Americans are versed in the crown law; I doubt whether they have been guilty of an overt act of treason, but I am sure they have come within a hair's-breadth of it."

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CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE CELTIC-AMERICAN REPUBLIC ON THE BANKS OF THE
MISSISSIPPI.

SEPTEMBER—OCTOBER, 1768.

AT noon of the twenty-eighth of September, just after the convention broke up, the squadron from Halifax anchored in Nantasket Bay. It brought not two ^{1768.} ^{Sept.} regiments only, but artillery, which Bernard, by a verbal message, had specially requested. Dalrymple, their commander, "expressed infinite surprise that no quarters had been prepared." On the twenty-ninth, the council, at which Smith, the commanding officer of the fleet, and Dalrymple, were present, after much altercation, adhered to the law; and the governor declared his want of power to act alone. "Since that resolution was taken to rise in arms in open rebellion," wrote Gage, "I don't see any cause to be scrupulous." On the following day, the squadron anchored off Castle William to intimidate the council, but without success. At that moment, Montresor, the engineer, arrived, with an order from General Gage to land both the regiments within the settled part of Boston.

On the first of October, the day for executing the ^{Oct.} order, the governor stole away into the country; leaving Dalrymple to despise "his want of spirit," and "to take the whole upon himself." As if they were come to an enemy's country, eight ships-of-war, with loaded cannon, and springs on their cables, were anchored in the harbor so as to command the town; after which, the fourteenth and twenty-ninth regiments, and a part of the fifty-ninth, with a train of artillery and two pieces of cannon, effected their landing on the Long Wharf. Each soldier having

received sixteen rounds of shot, they marched with drums beating, fifes playing, and colors flying, through the streets of the defenceless, unresisting town, and by four in the afternoon they paraded on Boston common.

"All their bravadoes ended as may be imagined," said an officer. "Men are not easily brought to fight," wrote Hutchinson, "when they know death by the sword or the halter will be the consequence." "Great Britain," remarked a wiser observer, "will repent her mistaken policy."

Dalrymple encamped the twenty-ninth regiment, which had field equipage; for the rest, he demanded quarters of the selectmen. They knew the law too well to comply; but, as the night was cold, the Sons of Liberty, from compassion, allowed them to sleep in Faneuil Hall.

1768. On the third, Bernard laid before the council Dal-
Oct. rymple's requisition for the enumerated allowances to troops in barracks. "We," answered the council, "are ready, on our part, to comply with the act of parliament, if the colonel will on his."

"Tyranny begins," said Samuel Adams, "if the law is transgressed to another's harm. We must not give up the law and the constitution, which is fixed and stable, and is the collected and long digested sentiment of the whole, and substitute in its room the opinion of individuals, than which nothing can be more uncertain."

While Hood meditated embarking for Boston to winter there, Gage came from New York to demand, in person, quarters for the regiments in the town. The council would grant none till the barracks at the castle were filled.

The governor and the sheriff attempted to get possession of a ruinous building, belonging to the province; but its occupants had taken the opinion of the best lawyer, and kept them at bay.

Bernard next summoned the acting justices to meet him, and renewed the general's demand for quarters. "Not till the barracks are filled," they answered, conforming to the law. "The clause," wrote Gage, "is by no means calculated for this country, where every man studies law." "I

am at the end of my tether," said Bernard to his council; and he asked them to join him in naming a commissary. "To join in such appointment," answered the council, "would be an admission that the province ought to be charged with the expense." The officers themselves could not put the troops into quarters; for they would, under the act, be cashiered, on being convicted of the fact before two justices of the peace. "Before two justices," exclaimed Gage, "the best of them the keeper of a paltry tavern."

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At last, the weather growing so severe that the troops could not remain in tents, "the commanding officer was obliged to hire houses at very dear rates," as well as procure, at the expense of the crown, all the articles required by act of parliament of the colony. The main guard was established opposite the state house, so that cannon were pointed towards the rooms in which the legislature was accustomed to sit. But, as the town gave an example of respect for law, there was nothing for the troops to do. Two regiments were there as idle lookers-on, and two more were coming to share the same inactivity. Every one knew that they could not be employed except on a requisition from a civil officer; and there was not a magistrate in the colony that saw any reason for calling in their aid, nor a person in town disposed to act in a way to warrant it.

The commissioners of the customs, having received orders to return to Boston, wished to get from the council some excuse for their departure, as well as for their return. "They had no just reason for absconding from their duty," said Bowdoin; and the council left them to return of themselves; but, in an address to Gage, adopted by a vote of fifteen out of nineteen, they explained how trivial had been the disorders on which the request for troops had been grounded. Gage became convinced by his inquiries that the disturbance in March was trifling; that on the tenth of June the commissioners were neither attacked nor menaced; that more obstructions had arisen to the service from the servants of government than from any

other cause. And yet he advised barracks and a fort on Fort Hill to command the town; while Bernard owned that "troops would not restore the authority of government," and urged anew a forfeiture of the charter.

It was on every one's lips that the die was thrown, that they must wait for the event; but the parties who waited were each in a different frame of mind. A troublesome anxiety took possession of Bernard, who began to fear his recall, and intercede to be spared. "These red coats make a formidable appearance," said Hutchinson, buoyant with the prospect of rising one step higher. The soldiers liked the country they were come to, and, sure that none would betray them, deserted in numbers. The commissioners were more haughty than before; gratified their malignity by arresting Hancock and Malcom on charges confidently made, but never established.

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The determination of the king was evident from the first. Yielding to his "daily" importunities, Grafton prepared to dismiss Shelburne. The assent of Camden was desired. "You are my pole-star," Camden was accustomed to say to Chatham; "I have sworn an oath, I will go where you lead." But now he encouraged Grafton to slight their justly dissatisfied benefactor, as "brooding over his own suspicions and discontent." "I will never retire upon a scanty income," he added, "unless I should be forced by something more compelling than the Earl of Shelburne's removal. You are my pole-star, Chatham being eclipsed."

Grafton repaired to Hayes to gain Chatham's acquiescence in the proposed change. "My lord's health," answered the countess, "is too weak to admit of any communication of business; but I am able to tell your grace, from my lord himself, that Lord Shelburne's removal will never have his consent." The king awaited anxiously the result of the interview; and, notwithstanding the warning, Shelburne was removed. To Camden's surprise, the resignation of Chatham instantly followed. Grafton and the king interposed with solicitations; but even the hope of triumphing over the aristocracy had lost its seductive power, and the earl remained inflexible. Camden knew

that he ought to retire also ; he hushed his scruples by the thought that his illustrious friend had not asked him to do it ; and continued saying, "He shall still be my pole-star," even while the emoluments of office were for a time attracting him to advise a public declaration from the king, that Townshend's revenue act should be executed, and "Boston," "the ringleading province," be "chastised."

The removal of Shelburne opened the cabinet to the ignorant and incapable Earl of Rochford, who owed his selection to his submissive mediocrity. He needed money ; and once told Choiseul, with tears in his eyes, that, if he lost the embassy which he then filled, he should be without resources. He had a passion to play a part, and would boast of his intention to rival not Chatham, he would say, but Pitt ; though he could not even for a day adhere steadily to one idea. "His meddlesome disposition," said Choiseul, "makes him a worse man to deal with than one of greater ability." "You," answered Du Châtelet, "may turn his foibles and defects to the advantage of the king." After his accession, the administration was the weakest and the worst which England had known since the revolution.

It had no sanction in public opinion, and the subservient parliament was losing the reverence of the nation. Henceforward a reform was advocated by Grenville. "The number of electors," such was his declared opinion, "is become too small in proportion to the whole people, and the colonies ought to be allowed to send members to parliament."

"What other reason than an attempt to raise discontent," replied Edmund Burke, as the organ of the Rockingham whigs, "can he have for suggesting that we are not happy enough to enjoy a sufficient number of voters in England? Our fault is on the other side." And he mocked at an American representation as the vision of a lunatic.

The opinions of Grenville were obtaining universal circulation, just as intelligence was received of the proceedings of the town of Boston relative to the proposed convention. From their votes, it was inferred that the troops would be opposed, should they attempt to land ; that Massachusetts Bay, if not all the colonies, was in a state of actual rebellion.

"Depend upon it," said Hillsborough to the agent of Connecticut, who had presented him the petition of that colony, "parliament will not suffer their authority to be trampled upon. We wish to avoid severities towards you; but, if you refuse obedience to our laws, the whole fleet and army of England shall enforce it."

The inhabitants of Boston more than ever resolved not to pay money without their own consent, and to use no article from Britain, till the obnoxious acts should be repealed and the troops removed.

On the banks of the Mississippi, uncontrolled impulses unfurled the flag of a republic. The treaty of Paris left two European powers sole sovereigns of the continent of North America. Spain, accepting Louisiana with some hesitation, lost France as her bulwark, and assumed new expenses and dangers, to keep the territory from England. Its inhabitants loved the land of their ancestry; by every law of nature and human freedom, they had the right to protest against the transfer of their allegiance. No sooner did they hear of the cession of their country to the Catholic

king than an assembly sprang into being, representing every parish in the colony; and, at the instance of

Lafrénière, they unanimously resolved to entreat the king of France to be touched with their affliction and their loyalty, and not to sever them from his dominions.

At Paris, their envoy, John Milhet, the wealthiest merchant of New Orleans, met with a friend in Bienville, the time-honored founder of New Orleans; and, assisted by the tears and the well-remembered early services of the venerable octogenarian, he appealed to the heart of Choiseul. "It may not be," answered Choiseul; "France cannot bear the charge of supporting the colony's precarious existence."

On the tenth of July, 1765, the austere and unamiable Antonio De Ulloa, by a letter from Havana, announced to the superior council at New Orleans his orders to take possession of that city for the Catholic king; but the flag of France was left flying, and continued to attract Acadian exiles. On the fifth of March, 1766, during a violent thunder-gust and rain, Ulloa landed, with civil officers, three

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capuchin monks, and eighty soldiers. His reception was cold and gloomy. He brought no orders to redeem the seven million livres of French paper money, which weighed down a colony of less than six thousand white men.

The French garrison of three hundred refused to enter the Spanish service; the people, to give up their nationality; and Ulloa was obliged to administer the government under the French flag by the old French officers, at the cost of Spain.

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Oct.

In May of the same year, the Spanish restrictive system was applied to Louisiana; in September, an ordinance compelled French vessels having special permits to accept the paper currency in pay for their cargoes, at an arbitrary tariff of prices. "The extension and freedom of trade," remonstrated the merchants, "far from injuring states and colonies, are their strength and support." The ordinance was suspended, but not till the alarm had destroyed all commerce. Ulloa retired from New Orleans to the Balise. Only there, and opposite Natchez, and at the river Iberville, was Spanish jurisdiction directly exercised.

This state of things continued for a little more than two years. But the arbitrary and passionate conduct of Ulloa, the depreciation of the currency with the prospect of its becoming an almost total loss, the disputes respecting the expenses incurred since the cession in 1762, the interruption of commerce, a captious ordinance which made a private monopoly of the traffic with the Indians, uncertainty of jurisdiction and allegiance, agitated the colony from one end to the other. It was proposed to make of New Orleans a republic, like Amsterdam or Venice, with a legislative body of forty men, and a single executive. The people of the country parishes crowded in a mass into the city; joined those of New Orleans; and formed a numerous assembly, in which Lafrénière, John Milhet, Joseph Milhet, and the lawyer Doucet were conspicuous. "Why," said they, "should the two sovereigns form agreements which can have no result but our misery, without advantage to either?" On the twenty-fifth of October, they adopted an address to the superior council, written by Lafrénière and

Caresse, rehearsing their griefs; and, in their petition of rights, they claimed freedom of commerce with the ports of France and America, and the expulsion of Ulloa from the colony. The address, signed by five or six hundred persons, was adopted the next day by the council, in spite of the protest of Aubry; when the French flag was displayed on the public square, children and women ran up to kiss its folds; and it was raised by nine hundred men, amidst shouts of "Long live the king of France! we will have no king but him." Ulloa retreated to Havana, and sent his representations to Spain. The inhabitants elected their own treasurer and syndics; sent envoys to Paris with supplicatory letters to the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Conti; and memorialized the French monarch to stand as intercessor between them and the Catholic king, offering no alternative but to be a colony of France or a free commonwealth.

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Oct.

"The success of the people of New Orleans in driving away the Spaniards," wrote Du Châtelet to Choiseul, "is a good example for the English colonies; may they set about following it."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE KING AND THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT AGAINST THE
TOWN OF BOSTON. HILLSBOROUGH'S ADMINISTRATION OF
THE COLONIES CONTINUED.

OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1768.

SPAIN valued Louisiana as a screen for Mexico; and England held the valley of the Mississippi from jealousy of France. To the great joy of Spain, and against the advice of Shelburne, every idea of settling the country was opposed; and every post between Mobile and Fort Chartres was abandoned: John Finley, a backwoodsman of North Carolina, who this year passed through Kentucky, found not one white man's cabin in all the enchanting wilderness. Gage was even for giving up Fort Chartres and Pittsburg. But this policy was obstructed by the settlements in Illinois and on the Wabash; the roving disposition of the Americans; and the avarice of British officers, who coveted profit from concessions of lands. In the conflict of interests, the office of the colonial secretary was swayed by wavering opinions, producing only inconclusive correspondence, references, and reports on the questions how to regulate trade with the Indians; how to "reform" the excess in expenses; how to keep off planters; how to restrain the cupidity of British governors and agents.

The Spanish town of St. Louis was fast rising into importance, as the centre of the fur-trade with the Indian nations on the Missouri; but the population of Illinois had declined, and scarcely amounted to more than one thousand three hundred and fifty-eight, of whom rather more than three hundred were Africans. Kaskaskia counted six hundred white persons, and three hundred and three ne-

groes. At Kahokia, there were about three hundred persons; at Prairie du Rocher, one hundred and twenty-five; at St. Philip, fifteen; and not more at Fort Chartres. To Hillsborough's great alarm, the adult men had been formed into military companies. Vincennes, the only settlement in Indiana, claimed to be within a year as old as Detroit, and had rapidly and surprisingly increased. Its own population, consisting of two hundred and thirty-two white persons, ten negro and seventeen Indian slaves, was recruited by one hundred and sixty-eight "strangers."

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Oct. Detroit had now about six hundred souls. The western villages abounded in wheat, Indian corn, and swine; of beeves, there was more than one to each human being; and more than one horse to every two, counting slaves and children.

The course of the rivers inclined the French in the west to send their furs to New Orleans; or across the river by night to St. Louis, where they could be exchanged for French goods. All English merchandise came burdened with the cost of land carriage from Philadelphia to Fort Pitt. In November, Wilkins, the new commandant in Illinois, following suggestions from Gage, appointed seven civil judges to decide local controversies, yet without abdicating his own overruling authority. This temporary plan led the people to reflect on the best forms of government.

But Wilkins was chiefly intent on enriching some Philadelphia fur-traders, who were notorious for their willingness to bribe; he reported favorably of their zeal for British commerce, and, in less than a year after his arrival, executed at their request inchoate grants of large tracts of land, of which one sixth part was reserved for himself.

The procedure contravened the explicit orders of Hillsborough, who renewed imperatively the instruction to extend an unbroken line of Indian frontier from Georgia to Canada, as an impassable barrier to emigration.

This purpose was strenuously opposed by Virginia. From its ancient charter, the discoveries of its people, the authorized grants of its governors since 1746, the encouragement of its legislature to settlers in 1752 and 1753, the promise of lands

as bounty to officers and soldiers who served in the French war, the continued emigration of its inhabitants, the Ancient Dominion derived its title to occupy the great west. Carolina stopped at the line of thirty-six and a half degrees; on the north, New York could at most extend to Lake Erie; Maryland and Pennsylvania were each limited by definitive boundaries. None but Virginia claimed the Ohio lands, south of the line of Connecticut.

But, in spite of her objections, Stuart was ordered to complete the demarcation with the Indians, and to accept no new territory from the Cherokees.

The honest agent, without regarding the discontent of Virginia, which, though notified, declined co-operating with him, met the chiefs of the upper and lower Cherokees in council, at Hard Labor in Western South Carolina; and, on the fourteenth of October, concluded a treaty by which the Cherokees ratified all their former grants of lands, and established as the western boundary of Virginia a straight line drawn from Chiswell's mine, on the eastern bank of the Great Kanawha, in a northerly course to the confluence of that river with the Ohio.

To thwart the negotiation of Stuart, Virginia had appointed Thomas Walker its commissioner to the congress held at Fort Stanwix with the Six Nations. Sir William Johnson, the Indian agent for the northern district, was thoroughly versed in the methods of making profit by his office. William Franklin, of New Jersey, readily assisted in obtaining the largest cessions of lands. The number of Indians who appeared was but little short of three thousand. Unusual largesses won over the chiefs of the Six Nations; The line that was established began at 1768.
Nov. the north, where Canada Creek joins Wood Creek; on leaving New York, it passed from the nearest fork of the West Branch of the Susquehannah to Kittaning on the Alleghany, whence it followed that river and the Ohio. Had it stopped at the mouth of the Kanawha, the Indian frontier would have been marked all the way from northern New York to Florida. But, instead of following his instructions, Sir William Johnson, pretending to recognise a

right of the Six Nations to the largest part of Kentucky, continued the line down the Ohio to the Tennessee River, which was thus constituted the western boundary of Virginia.

While the congress was in session, Botetourt, the new governor of Virginia, arrived on the James River, in the delicious season of the fall of the leaf, when that region enjoys a many-tinted sky and a soft but invigorating air. He was charmed with the scenes on which he entered; his house seemed admirable; the grounds around it well planted and watered by beautiful rills. Every thing was just as he could have wished. Coming up without state to an unprovided residence, he was asked abroad every day; and, as a guest, gave pleasure and was pleased. He thought nothing could be better than the disposition of the colony, and augured well of every thing that was to happen. Received with frankness, he dealt frankly with the people to whom he was deputed. He wrote to Hillsborough that they would never willingly submit to being taxed by the mother country; but he justified them by their universal avowal of a most ardent desire to assist upon every occasion, if they might do it as formerly in consequence of requisition. Yet the duties complained of were collected in every part of the colony, without a shadow of resistance. He was persuaded that the new assembly would come together in good humor, which he was resolved not wantonly to disturb.

The western boundary invited immediate attention. Botetourt entered heartily into the wishes of Virginia, and put in pledge his life and fortune to carry its jurisdiction to the Tennessee River on the parallel of thirty-six and a half degrees. "This boundary," it was said, "will give some room to extend our settlements for ten or twelve years."

England, at this time, began to think reconciliation with Massachusetts hopeless, when news arrived that the troops had landed at Boston without opposition, that the convention had dissolved, and that all thoughts of resistance were at an end. "They act with highest wisdom and spirit," said Thomas Hollis; "they will extricate themselves with firmness and magnanimity." But most men ex-

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pressed contempt for them, as having made a vain bluster. No one doubted that, on the arrival of the additional regiments from Ireland, Otis and Cushing, and sixteen other members of the late political assemblies, would be arrested. Hillsborough hastened to send Bernard's despatches to the attorney and solicitor general, asking what crimes had been committed, and if the guilty were to be impeached by parliament.

The king, in his speech on the eighth of November, 1768. railed at "the spirit of faction breaking out afresh in Nov. some of the colonies." "Boston," said he, "appears to be in a state of disobedience to all law and government, with circumstances that might manifest a disposition to throw off its dependence on Great Britain."

In the house of commons, Lord Henly, moving the address, signalized the people of Boston for their "defiance of all legal authority."

"I gave my vote to the revenue act of Charles Townsend," thus he was seconded by Hans Stanley, "that we might test the obedience of the Americans to the declaratory law of 1766. Troops have been drawn together in America to enforce it, and have commenced the operation in Boston. Men so unsusceptible of all middle terms of accommodation call loudly for our correction. What, sir, will become of this insolent town, when we deprive its inhabitants of the power of sending out their rum and molasses to the coast of Africa? For they must be treated like aliens, as they have treated us upon this occasion. The difficulties in governing Massachusetts are insurmountable, unless its charter and laws shall be so changed as to give to the king the appointment of the council, and to the sheriffs the sole power of returning juries." Samuel Adams, at Boston, weighed well the meaning of these words, uttered by an organ of the ministry; but England hardly noticed the presumptuous menace of the subversion of chartered rights and of the independence of juries.

Edmund Burke poured out a torrent of invective against Camden, for the inconsistency of his former opposition to the declaratory act with his present support of the ministry.

"My astonishment at the folly of his opinions," he said, "is lost in indignation at the baseness of his conduct." Grenville agreed with him that the order, requiring the Massachusetts assembly to rescind a vote under a penalty, was illegal and unconstitutional. "I wish the stamp act had never been passed," said Barrington; "but the Americans are traitors against the legislature. The troops are to bring rioters to justice." Wedderburn, who at that moment belonged to himself, and spoke in opposition to enhance his price, declaimed against governing by files of musketeers; and he, too, condemned the ministerial mandate as illegal. "Though it were considered wiser," said Rigby, "to alter the American tax than to continue it, I would not alter it so long as the colony of the Massachusetts Bay continues in its present state." "Let the nation return to its old good nature and its old good humor," were the words of Alderman Beckford, whom nobody minded, and who spoke more wisely than they all; "it were best to repeal the late act, and conciliate the colonies by moderation and kindness."

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Lord North made reply: "America must fear you, before she can love you. If America is to be the judge, you may tax in no instance, you may regulate in no instance. We shall go through our plan, now that we have brought it so near success. I am against repealing the last act of parliament, securing to us a revenue out of America; I will never think of repealing it, until I see America prostrate at my feet." The irrevocable words spoke the feeling of parliament. The address was carried in the commons without a division; the peers seemed unanimous; and scarcely more than five or six in both houses defended the Americans from principle. Everybody expected "the chastisement of Boston."

But the employment of soldiery failed from the beginning. There were, on the tenth of November, more than four regiments in Boston; what could be given them to do? They had been sent over to bring "to justice" those whom Barrington called "rioters," whom the king described as "turbulent and mischievous persons." But, after long con-

sideration, De Grey and Dunning, the attorney and solicitor general, joined in the opinion that the statute of the thirty-fifth of Henry VIII. was the only one by which criminals could be tried in England for offences committed in America; that its provisions extended only to treasons; and that there was no sufficient ground to fix the charge of high treason upon any persons named in the papers laid before them. The troops found no rebellion at Boston; could they make one? They found a town of which the merchants refused to import goods of British manufacture, or to buy tea brought by way of Great Britain. How could armed men change this disposition? Massachusetts would not even pay for their quarters, because they had not been quartered according to law; so that they were left to parade up and down the streets at the cost of the British exchequer, sharpening the sullen discontent of the townsmen.

"No force on earth," wrote the governor of New Jersey, "is sufficient to make the assemblies acknowledge, by any act of theirs, that the parliament has a right to impose taxes on America." 1768.
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Each American assembly, as it came together, denied that right, and imbodyed its denial in petitions to the king. The king, instead of hearing the petitions, disapproved and rejected them; Virginia was soothingly reprimanded; Pennsylvania, whose loyalty had but a fortnight before been confidently extolled by Hillsborough; Rhode Island, whose reverence for the laws he had officially set forth; Connecticut, which had combined loyalty with love of its liberties; Maryland, which acted strictly in conformity to law in refusing to be overawed by a secretary's letter, — received, as their answer, copies of the addresses of parliament, and assurances that "wicked men," who questioned the supreme authority of that body, would not be listened to.

The governor of South Carolina invited its assembly to treat the letters of Massachusetts and Virginia "with the contempt they deserved;" a committee, composed of Parsons, Gadsden, Pinkney, Lloyd, Lynch, Laurens, Rutledge, Elliott, and Dart, reported them to be "founded upon undeniable, constitutional principles;" and the house, sit-

ting with its doors locked, unanimously directed its speaker to signify to both provinces its entire approbation. The governor, that same evening, dissolved the assembly by beat of drum; but the general toast at Charleston remained, "The UNANIMOUS TWENTY-SIX, who would not rescind from the Massachusetts circular." The assembly of New York was also in session, fully resolved to go beyond the common example; and Hillsborough, who expressed his confidence that his letters and the king's firmness would "bring back the misled colonists to a just sense of their duty," only opened the way to a new complaint from the colonies, that the king would not even receive their petitions.

The refusal of America to draw supplies from England was an invitation to other powers to devise the means of sharing her commerce; the three secretaries of state were therefore called upon to issue orders to the ministers, consuls, and agents of the British government in the ports of Europe, Madeira, and the Azores, to watch the coming in of an American ship or the sailing of any ship for the continent of America. The navigation acts, of which the total repeal would have increased the trade of the colonies with their mother country, reduced England to playing the humble and helpless part of a spy in the harbors of independent nations.

"Can the ministry reduce the colonies?" asked Du Châtelet. "Of what avail is an army in so vast a country? The Americans have made these reflections, and they will not give way."

"To the menace of rigor," replied Choiseul, "they will never give way, except in appearance and for a time. The fire will be but imperfectly extinguished, unless other means than those of force conciliate the interests of the metropolis and its colonies. The Americans will not lose out of view their rights and privileges; and, next to fanaticism for religion, the fanaticism for liberty is the most daring in its measures and the most dangerous in its consequences."

The simplest mode of taking part with the colonists was by a commerce of the French and Spanish colonies with

the British colonies on the continent of North America; and on this subject Choiseul sent to Du Châtelet an elaborate digest of all the materials he had collected. But the simple-hearted king of Spain, though he enjoyed the perplexity of the natural enemy of the two crowns, was glad of more time to prepare for contingent events, and showed no disposition to interfere.

"What a pity," resumed Du Châtelet to Choiseul, "that neither Spain nor France is in a condition to take advantage of so critical a conjuncture, and that we must regard it as a passive benefit. The moment is not yet come, and precipitate measures on our part might reconcile the colonies to the metropolis. But, if the quarrel goes on, a thousand opportunities cannot fail to offer, of which decisive advantage may be taken. The objects presented to you, to the king, and to his council, demand the most profound combinations, the most inviolable secrecy. A plan which shall be applicable to every circumstance of change should be concerted in advance with Spain."

At the same time, Du Châtelet studied intercolonial commerce; and obtained the opinions of the American agents, particularly of Franklin, whom he described as "upright and enlightened, one of the wisest and most sagacious men that could be found in any country."

The agents had separately waited on Lord Hillsborough. On the sixth of December, he communicated to them in a body the result of a cabinet council: "Administration will enforce the authority of the legislature of Great Britain over the colonies in the most effectual manner, but with moderation and lenity. All the petitions we have received are very offensive, for they contain a denial of the authority of parliament. We have no fondness for the acts complained of; particularly, the late duty act is so anti-commercial that I wish it had never existed; and it would certainly have been repealed, had the colonies said nothing about it, or petitioned against it only on the ground of its expediency: but the principle you proceed upon extends to all laws; and we cannot therefore think of repealing it, at least this

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session of parliament, or until the colonies shall have dropped the point of right. Nor can the conduct of the people of Boston pass without a severe censure." A very long discussion ensued; but he was inflexible.

The attention of parliament was to be confined to the colony of the Massachusetts Bay; Beckford and Trecothick, as friends to America, demanded rather such general inquiry as might lead to measures of relief. "The question of taxation is not before us," interposed Lord North; "but the question is, whether we are to lay a tax one year, when America is at peace, and take it off the next, when America is in arms against us. The repeal of the act would spread an alarm, as if we did it from fear. The encouragement it would give our enemies, and the discouragement it would give our friends, bind us not to take that question into consideration again." He therefore demanded the expression of the united opinion of Great Britain, so that Boston might be awed into obedience.

"The Americans believe," rejoined Beckford, "that there is a settled design in this country to rule them with a military force." "I never wish for dominion, unless accompanied by the affection of the people governed," said Lord John Cavendish. "Want of knowledge, as well as want of temper," said Lord Beauchamp, "has gradually led us to the brink of a precipice, on which we look down with horror." Phipps, a captain in the army, added: "My heart will bleed for every drop of American blood that shall be shed, whilst their grievances are unredressed. I wish to see the Americans in our arms as friends, not to meet them as enemies." "Dare you not trust yourselves with a general inquiry?" asked Grenville. "How do we know, parliamentarily, that Boston is the most guilty
1768.
Dec. of the colonies?" "I would have the Americans obey the laws of the country, whether they like them or not," said Lord Barrington.

Out of two hundred who were present, one hundred and twenty-seven divided with the government to confine the inquiry. The king set himself and his ministry, and parliament, and all Great Britain, to subdue to his will one

stubborn little town on the sterile coast of the Massachusetts Bay. The odds against it were fearful ; but it showed a life inextinguishable, and had been chosen to keep guard over the liberties of mankind.

The Old World had not its parallel. It counted about sixteen thousand inhabitants of European origin, all of whom learned to read and write. Good public schools were the foundation of its political system ; and Benjamin Franklin, one of their pupils, in his youth
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apprenticed to the art which makes knowledge the common property of mankind, had gone forth from them to stand before the nations as the representative of the modern industrial class.

As its schools were for all its children, so the great body of its male inhabitants of twenty-one years of age, when assembled in a hall which Faneuil, of Huguenot ancestry, had built for them, was the source of all municipal authority. In the meeting of the town, its taxes were voted, its affairs discussed and settled ; its agents and public servants annually elected by ballot ; and abstract political principles freely debated. A small property qualification was attached to the right of suffrage, but did not exclude enough to change the character of the institution. There had never existed a considerable municipality, approaching so nearly to a pure democracy ; and, for so populous a place, it was undoubtedly the most orderly and best governed in the world.

Its ecclesiastical polity was in like manner republican. The great mass were Congregationalists ; each church was an assembly formed by voluntary agreement, self-constituted, self-supported, and independent. They were clear that no person or church had power over another church. There was not a Roman Catholic altar in the place ; the usages of "papists" were looked upon as worn-out superstitions, fit only for the ignorant. But the people were not merely the fiercest enemies of "popery and slavery," they were Protestants even against Protestantism ; and, though the English church was tolerated, Boston kept up its exasperation against prelacy. Its ministers were still

its prophets and its guides; its pulpit, in which, now that Mayhew was no more, Cooper was admired above all others for eloquence and patriotism, by weekly appeals inflamed alike the fervor of piety and of liberty. In 1768. Dec. the "Boston Gazette," it enjoyed a free press, which gave currency to its conclusions on the natural right of man to self-government.

Its citizens were inquisitive; seeking to know the causes of things, and to search for the reason of existing institutions in the laws of nature. Yet they controlled their speculative turn by practical judgment; exhibiting the seeming contradiction of susceptibility to enthusiasm and calculating shrewdness. They were fond of gain, and adventurous, penetrating, and keen in their pursuit of it; yet their avidity was tempered by a well-considered and continuing liberality. Nearly every man was struggling to make his own way in the world and his own fortune; and yet, individually and as a body, they were public-spirited. In the seventeenth century, the community had been distracted by those who were thought to pursue the great truth of justification by faith to Antinomian absurdities; the philosophy of the eighteenth century had influenced theological opinion; and, though the larger number still acknowledged the fixedness of the divine decrees, and the resistless certainty from all eternity of election and of reprobation, some, even among the clergy, had modified the sternness of the ancient doctrine by making the self-direction of the active powers of man with freedom of inquiry and private judgment the central idea of a protest against Calvinism. Still more were they boldly speculative on questions respecting their constitution. Every house was a school of politics; every man was a little statesman, discussed the affairs of the world, studied more or less the laws of his own land, and was sure of his ability to ascertain and to make good his rights. The ministers, whose prayers, being from no book, caught the hue of the times; the merchants, cramped in their enterprise by legal restrictions; the mechanics, who by their skill in ship-building bore away the palm from all other nations, and by their

numbers ruled the town; all alike, clergy and laity, in the pulpit or closet, on the wharf or in the counting-room, at their ship-yards or in their social gatherings, reasoned upon government. They had not acquired estates by a feudal tenure, nor had lived under feudal institutions; and, as the true descendants of the Puritans of England, they had not much more of superstitious veneration for monarchy than for priestcraft. Such was their power of analysis that they almost unconsciously developed the theory of an independent representative commonwealth; and such their instinctive capacity for organization that they had actually seen a convention of the people of the province start into life at their bidding. While the earth was still wrapt in gloom, they welcomed the daybreak of popular freedom, and looked undazzled into the beams of the morning.

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CHAPTER XXXIX.

A WAY TO TAKE OFF THE INCENDIARIES. HILLSBOROUGH'S
ADMINISTRATION OF THE COLONIES CONTINUED.

DECEMBER, 1768—FEBRUARY, 1769.

THE opinion of parliament was hardly pronounced, when
Du Châtelet again pressed America on the attention
1768. of Choiseul. "Without exaggerating the projects
Dec. or the union of the colonies," said he, "the time of
their independence is very near. Their prudent men be-
lieve the moment not yet come; but, if the English gov-
ernment undertakes vigorous measures, who can tell how
far the fanaticism for liberty may carry an immense people,
dwelling for the most part in the interior of a continent,
remote from imminent danger? And, if the metropolis
should persevere, can the union, which is now their strength,
be maintained without succor from abroad? Even if the
rupture should be premature, can France and Spain neglect
the opportunity which they may never find again?

"Three years ago the separation of the English colonies
was looked upon as an object of attention for the next
generation; the germs were observed, but no one could
foresee that they would be so speedily developed. This
new order of things, which will necessarily have the great-
est influence on the political system of Europe, will proba-
bly be brought about within a very few years."

"Your views," replied Choiseul, "are as acute as they
are comprehensive and well considered. The king is per-
fectly aware of their sagacity and solidity; and I will com-
municate them to the court of Madrid."

The statesmen of France had their best allies in the Brit-
ish ministry. "The matter is now brought to a point," said

Hillsborough, in the house of lords. "Parliament must give up its authority over the colonies, or bring them to effectual submission. Your lordships will see it absolutely necessary not to recede an ace; for my part, I cannot entertain a thought of repealing the late acts, and hope nobody will move it, or so much as wish for it. Not the amount of the duties, which will not be more than ten thousand pounds per annum in all North America, but the principle upon which the laws are founded, is complained of. Legislation and taxation will stand or fall together. The notion of the Americans is a polytheism in politics, absurd, fatal to the constitution, and never to be admitted. The North Americans are a very good set of people, misled by a few wicked, factious, and designing men. I will, therefore, for the present only propose several resolutions which may show the sense of the legislature. If this is not sufficient, the hand of power must be lifted up, and the whole force of this country exerted to bring the colonies into subjection." The resolutions condemned the assembly of Massachusetts, its council, and still more its convention; approved of sending a military force to Boston; and foreshadowed the abrogation of the municipal liberties of that town, and a change in the charter of the province.

Hillsborough was seconded by Bedford, who also carried an address to the king, to bring to "condign punishment the chief authors and instigators of the late disorders;" and, if sufficient ground should be seen, to put them on trial for "treason" before a special commission in England, "pursuant to the statute of Henry VIII." The resolutions and address were adopted, with no opposition except from Richmond and Shelburne.

"The semblance of vigor," said Choiseul, "covers pusillanimity and fear. If those who are threatened with a trial for high treason are not alarmed, the terror and discouragement will affect nobody but the British ministers; the main question of taxing the colonies is as far from a solution as ever."

Samuel Adams, whom it was especially desired to "take off" for treason, was "unawed by the menaces of arbitrary

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power." "I must," said he, "tell the men, who on both sides of the Atlantic charge America with rebellion, that military power will never prevail on an American to surrender his liberty;" and, through the press, he taught the extreme doctrine that a standing army, kept up in the colonies in time of peace without their consent, was as flagrant a violation of the constitution as the laying a tax on paper, glass, painters' colors, and tea. While unremittingly engaged in effecting the removal of the troops from Boston, he sought in the common law the means to curb their insolence; and called upon the magistrates of Boston to govern, restrain, and punish "soldiers of all ranks," according to the laws of the land. The justices of the peace for Suffolk at their quarter sessions, and the grand jury, over which the crown had no control, never failed to find indictments against soldiers and officers for their frequent transgressions; and they escaped the penalties of conviction only through the favoritism of a higher court.

Georgia approved the conduct and correspondence of Massachusetts and Virginia. New York completed the expression of American opinion, by unanimously asserting its legislative rights with unsurpassed distinctness, and appointing an intercolonial committee of correspondence.

1769. At this time, Choiseul, who was incensed at the
Jan. public subscription in England in aid of the Corsicans, was threatening the British minister that he would requite the grievance by opening subscriptions in France for the inhabitants of New York. The new year brought a dissolution of the assembly of that province; and, in the following elections, the government party employed every art to create confusion. It excused the violence of recent disputes, concealing the extremes of difference between the British parliament and the American people. It sought to gratify the cravings of every interest. It evaded conflicts with the merchants, connived at their importations from St. Eustatius and Holland, and supported their request for an increase of the paper currency. It encouraged the tenantry in their wish to vote not by word of mouth on the nomination of their landlords, but, as in New England, by

ballot; and in New York city, for the old cry of "No Presbyterian," it raised that of "No Lawyer." The Delanceys, who had long seemingly led the opposition in the province, were secretly won over to the side of authority. One of the Livingstons could no longer sit in the assembly, for a law made the offices of judge and representative incompatible; another was held ineligible for the manor, because he resided in the city. Add to this, that all parties still hoped for an escape from strife by some plan of union to which Grafton was believed to be well disposed; that the population was not homogeneous in religion, language, customs, or origin; that the government and the churchmen acted together; that the city was a corporation, in which the
 1769.
 Jan.
 mayor was appointed by the king; and the reasons appear why, at the hotly contested election, which was the last ever held in New York under the crown, the coalition gained success over John Morin Scott and the Sons of Liberty.

In Massachusetts, Bernard kept up the ferment. He knew it to be a part of Lord Hillsborough's system that there never should be another election of councillors; and he, and Hutchinson also, most secretly furnished lists of persons whose appointment they advised. They both importuned the ministry to remove Temple, who would not conceal his opinion that the affections of the colonists were wasting away from the mother country, through the incapacity and "avarice" of his associates. The wily Hutchinson opposed the repeal of the revenue act; recommended to remove the main objection to parliamentary authority, by the offer to the colonists of such "a plan of representation" in the British parliament as he knew they must reject; informed against the free constitutions of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, as tending to produce another congress; and advised and solicited and importunately demanded such an extension of the laws of treason as would have rendered every considerable man in Boston liable to its penalties. In letters to a member of that parliament, whose authority he wished it made treasonable to deny,—written for public purposes, and communicated to Grenville, Lord Temple, and others,—he declared that "measures

which he could not think of without pain were necessary for the peace and good of the colony," that "there must be an abridgment of what are called English liberties." He

avowed his desire to see some further restraint, lest otherwise the connection with Great Britain should be broken; and he consoled himself for his advice, by declaring it impossible for so distant a colony to "enjoy all the liberty of the parent state." He had put many suggestions on paper, but behind all he had further "thoughts, which he dared not trust to pen and ink."

"Poison will continue to be instilled into the minds of the people," wrote Oliver, "if there be no way found to take off the original incendiaries." The Bedford address for shipping American traitors to England having come to hand, a way was open for "taking them off." Bernard and Oliver and Hutchinson, with the attorney-general, collected evidence against Samuel Adams; and affidavits, sworn to before Hutchinson, were sent to England, to prove him fit to be transported under the act of Henry VIII. Edes and Gill, also, "the trumpeters of sedition," and through them "all the chiefs of the faction, all the authors of numberless treasonable and seditious writings," were to be called to account.

While Hutchinson was taking depositions, so that "the principal actors might be compelled to answer," for "proceedings amounting to treason," those whom he sought to arraign as traitors, aware of his designs, reproached him for his baseness in performing "the office of an informer" while he held the post of chief justice; and they avowed their opinions more boldly than ever. "Parliament will offer you a share in the representative body," said the royalists; and the suggestion was spurned, since a true representation was impossible. "Boston may be deprived of its trade," thus they foreshadowed the policy adopted five years later. "What then?" it was asked. "Will the decline of British credit be remedied by turning our seaports into villages?" "Governor Bernard has been spoken of with great respect," reported the official journal. "And so has Otis," rejoined the "Boston Gazette;" "and has been compared to the

Pyms, the Hampdens, the Shippens of Britain." "Bernard has had some very uncommon difficulties to contend with," said royalists in his excuse. "And Otis and his compatriots," retorted Samuel Adams, "have doubtless had none! no toils, no self-denials, no threatenings, no tempting baits! All the virtue is on one side; virtue was never known to be separated from power or profit." "We should have been ruined by this time, had not the troops arrived," wrote one who was grasping at a lucrative office. "Military power," repeated the people, "is the last resource of ignorant despotism." "The opposition to government is faction," said the friends to government. "As well," answered Samuel Adams, "might the general uneasiness that introduced the revolution by William III., or that settled the succession in the house of Hanover, be called a faction." The patriot was in earnest. Since Great Britain persisted in enforcing her revenue act, he knew no remedy but American independence.

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Lord North, though he feared to strike, wished to intimidate. He would not allow a petition from the council of Massachusetts for the repeal of Townshend's act to be referred with the other American papers; nor would he receive a petition which denied that the act of Henry VIII. extended to the colonies; and on the twenty-sixth of January, after a delay of many weeks, he asked the house of commons to agree with the resolves and address of the house of lords. "No lawyer," said Dowdeswell, "will justify them; none but the house of lords, who think only of their dignity, could have originated them." "Suppose," said Edmund Burke, "you do call over two or three of these unfortunate men; what will become of the rest? *Let me have the heads of the principal leaders*, exclaimed the Duke of Alva; these heads proved hydra's heads. Suppose a man brought over for high treason; if his witnesses do not appear, he cannot have a fair trial. God and nature oppose you." Grenville scoffed at the whole plan, as no more than "angry words," and "the wisdom fools put on." Lord North, assuming the responsibility of the measure, refused "ever to give up an iota of the authority

of Great Britain;" and promised good results in America from the refusal to repeal the revenue act.

"It is not a question of one refractory colony," cried Barré; "the whole country is ripe for revolt. Let us come to the point. Are the Americans proper objects of taxation? I think they are not. I solemnly declare, 1769.
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"On a former occasion, the noble lord told us that he would listen to no proposition for repeal, until he saw America prostrate at his feet. To effect this is not so easy as some imagine; the Americans are a numerous, a respectable, a hardy, a free people. But, were it ever so easy, does any friend to his country really wish to see America thus humbled? In such a situation, she would serve only as a monument of your vengeance and your folly. For my part, the America I wish to see is America increasing and prosperous, raising her head in graceful dignity, with freedom and firmness asserting her rights at your bar, vindicating her liberties, pleading her services, and conscious of her merit. This is the America that will have spirit to fight your battles, to sustain you when hard pushed by some prevailing foe, and by her industry will be able to consume your manufactures, support your trade, and pour wealth and splendor into your towns and cities. If we do not change our conduct towards her, America will be torn from our side. I repeat it; unless you repeal this law, you run the risk of losing America."

His reasoning was just; his action animated; warmed by the nobleness of his subject, he charmed all that heard him; yet the resolutions and address were adopted by a large majority.

"An attempt to seize the defenders of American liberties," wrote the watchful French ambassador to Choiseul, "would precipitate the revolution. How great will be the indignation of the Americans, when they learn that Britain, without receiving their representations, without hearing their agents, treats them as slaves, and condemns them as rebels. They never will recognise the right claimed by

parliament; even if they bear with it, their hearts will breathe nothing but independence, and will own no other country than the wilderness which their industry has fertilized. Henceforward, the colonies are divided from the metropolis in interests and in principles; and the bonds of their dependence will be severed on the first opportunity. Spain and France should adopt towards them general principles, entirely different from those which have been practised till now; and, even at the risk of transient inconveniences, should depart from the ancient prohibitory laws of commerce. The two courts must consider whether it is for their interest to second the revolution which menaces England, at the risk of the consequences which may a little later result from it for the totality of the New World; and whether the weakening of a common enemy can compensate the risk of such an example to their own colonies.

“If this question is answered in the affirmative, no precautions must be omitted to profit by the favorable circumstances, which imprudence alone could have created, and which human wisdom could hardly have foreseen. The inflammatory remedies applied by the parliament of England, the spirit of revolt, and still more the spirit of contempt shown by a factious people for a vacillating and humiliated administration, the disunion and indecision which reign in the British cabinet, the acknowledged weakness and instability of the principles of the king’s government, all pre-
 sage coming calamities to England; the only man whose genius might still be feared is removed from affairs, and enfeebled by gout, and his state of mind is a problem. Of the others whom birth, credit, wealth, or eloquence may destine to high places, not one appears likely to become a formidable enemy.”

This letter from Du Châtelet to Choiseul was inspired neither by the courtiers nor the parliaments nor the aristocracy, nor even by the burgesses of France; it was the philosophy of the eighteenth century, the ripened wisdom of the ages from Descartes to Turgot, uttering its oracles and its counsels in the palaces of absolute monarchs. It excited the most attentive curiosity of Louis XV. and of

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every one of his council. An extract of it was sent to Madrid, to ascertain the sentiments of the Catholic king; the minister of the marine and the minister of finance were directed to consult the chambers of commerce of the kingdom; while Choiseul, aware of the novelty of a system founded on the principle of a free trade, looked about him on every side for prevailing arguments against hereditary prepossessions.

The Bourbon kings were still deliberating, as, on the eighth of February, the state of America was again the theme of conversation in the house of commons; and strenuous efforts were once more made to prove the illegality and cruelty of fetching Americans across the Atlantic for trial.

"They may save themselves," said Rose Fuller, "by going still further, and bringing the question to the point of arms." "You have no right to tax the colonies," repeated Beckford; "the system has not produced a single shilling to the exchequer; the money is all eaten up by the officers who collect it." "Your measures," cried Phipps, after an admirable statement, "are more calculated to raise than to quell a rebellion. It is our duty to stand between the victim and the altar." "The statute of the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII.," observed Frederic Montagu, "was passed in the worst times of the worst reign, when the taste of blood had inflamed the savage disposition of Henry." "The act," declared Sir William Meredith, "does not extend to America; and, were I an American, I would not submit to it." Yet the British parliament, by a great majority, refusing to consider the redress of American grievances, requested the king to make inquisition at Boston for treason; and "ample information" was promptly sent by Hutchinson and others from Boston, so that the principal Sons of Liberty might be arraigned in Westminster Hall and hanged at Tyburn.

The press also gave to the world an elaborate reply to the Farmer's Letters, by Knox, to whom the board of trade furnished materials, and Grenville the constitutional argument. "I am tempted," owned Knox, "to deny that there

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is any such thing as representation at all in the British constitution; until this notion of representation is overthrown, it will be very difficult to convince either 1769.
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While England was enforcing its restrictive commercial system, Du Châtelet continued his intercession with Choiseul, to employ free trade as the great liberator of colonies. "The question," he pleaded, "cannot be submitted to the decision of the chambers of commerce. They regard every thing in colonial commerce which does not turn exclusively to the benefit of the kingdom as contrary to the end for which colonies were established, and as a theft from the state. To practise on these maxims is impossible. The wants of trade are stronger than the laws of trade. The north of America can alone furnish supplies to its south. This is the only point of view under which the cession of Canada can be regarded as a loss for France; but that cession will one day be amply compensated, if it shall cause the rebellion and independence of the English colonies, which become every day more probable and more near." At the same time, the Parisian world was alive with admiration for the Americans and their illustrious advocates.

But Spain had been the parent of the protective system, and remained the supporter of that restrictive policy by which, in the midst of every resource of wealth, she had been impoverished. From the first proposal of throwing colonial commerce open, she feared the contraband exportation of gold and silver. "Besides," thus Grimaldi, the Spanish minister, gave his definitive answer, "the position and strength of the countries occupied by the Americans excite a just alarm for the rich Spanish possessions on their borders. Their interlopers have already introduced their grain and rice into our colonies. If this should be legalized and extended to other objects, it would increase the prosperity of a neighbor already too formidable. Moreover, this neighbor, if it should separate from its metropolis,

would assume the republican form of government; and a republic is a government dangerous from the wisdom, the consistency, and the solidity of the measures which it would adopt for executing such projects of conquests as it would naturally form."

The opinion of Spain was deliberately pronounced and sternly adhered to. She divided the continent of North America with England, and loved to see "her enemy" embarrassed by war with its colonies; but, while she feared England much, she at that early day feared America more, and, for a neighbor, preferred a dependent colony to an independent republic.

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CHAPTER XL.

VIRGINIA COMES TO THE AID OF MASSACHUSETTS. HILLSBOROUGH'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE COLONIES CONTINUED.

MARCH—MAY, 1769.

THE decision of the king of Spain had been hastened by tidings of the rebellion in New Orleans. The cabinet, with but one dissentient, agreed that Louisiana must be retained, as a granary for Havana and Porto Rico, a precaution against the contraband trade of France, and a barrier to keep off English encroachments by the indisputable line of a great river.

"Still more," said the Duke of Alba, "the world, and especially America, must see that the king can and will crush even an intention of disrespect." "If France should recover Louisiana," said Masones de Lima, "she would annex it to the English colonies, or would establish its independence." "A republic in Louisiana," such was De Aranda's carefully prepared opinion, "would be independent of the European powers, who would all cultivate her friendship and support her existence. She would increase her population, enlarge her limits, and grow into a rich, flourishing, and free state, contrasting with our exhausted provinces. From the example before them, the inhabitants of our vast Mexican domain would be led to consider their total want of commerce, the extortions of their governors, the little esteem in which they themselves are held, the few offices which they are permitted to fill; they would hate still more the Spanish rule, and would think to brave it with security. If, by improving the government of the Mexican provinces and the condition of their inhabitants, we should avoid the fatal revolution, Louisiana would still trade with the harbors on our coast,

and also by land with Texas and New Mexico, and through them with Old Mexico. Between Louisiana and Mexico, there are no established limits; the rebels, if they remain as they are, will have a pretext for claiming an arbitrary extension of territory." He therefore advised to subdue the colony, but to keep New Orleans in such insignificance as to tempt no attack.

The king accepted the decision of his cabinet; adding his fear lest the example of Louisiana should influence the colonies "of other powers," in which he already discerned the "spirit of sedition and independence." A different train of reasoning engaged the cabinet of France.

"Here," said one of its advisers, "is the happy opportunity of dividing the British empire, by placing before its colonies the interesting spectacle of two potentates who pardon, who protect, and who deign in concert to utter the powerful word of liberty. War between France and England would bind these countries more firmly to their metropolis. The example of happiness will allure them to the independence towards which they tend. By leading them to confide in France and Spain, they will dare more and dare sooner. Nothing can better persuade to this confidence than to establish liberty in Louisiana, and to open the port of New Orleans to men of all nations and all religions.

"The passion for extended dominion must not hide from Spain that a discontented and ill-guarded colony cannot arrest the march of the English, and will prove an unprofitable expense. Were we to take back Louisiana, our best efforts could effect less than the charm of liberty. Without the magic of liberty, the territory will never become more than a simple line of demarcation. Severity would throw it into despair and into the arms of the English. To give voluntarily what the British parliament haughtily refuses, to assimilate New Orleans in its form to the freest of the British colonies, to adopt for it from each of them whatever is the dearest to them, to do more, — to enfranchise it and maintain invariably privileges capable of intoxicating the English and the Americans, — this is to arm their America

against themselves, by risking no more than what would otherwise be neglected." Every Frenchman had in his heart an excuse for the insurgents, and was ready to applaud their delirium of nationality and courage. Choiseul allowed their deputies to live at Paris, and to publish their griefs; and he communicated to the ambassador in England the project of the republic on the banks of the Mississippi.

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The idea, and the reasoning in its support, pleased Du Châtelet infinitely. "Spain," said he, "can never derive benefit from Louisiana. She neither will nor can take effective measures for its colonization and culture. She has not inhabitants enough to furnish emigrants; and the religious and political principles of her government will always keep away foreigners, and even Frenchmen. Under Spanish dominion, the vast extent of territory ceded by France to Spain on the banks of the Mississippi will soon become a desert.

"The expense of colonies is requited only by commerce; and the commerce of Louisiana, under the rigor of the Spanish prohibitive laws, will every day become more and more a nullity. Spain then will make an excellent bargain, if she accords liberty to the inhabitants of Louisiana, and permits them to form themselves into a republic. Nothing can so surely keep them from falling under English rule as making them cherish the protection of Spain and the sweetness of independence.

"The example of a free and happy nation, under the guardianship of two powerful monarchs, without restraint on its commerce, without any taxes but those which the wants of the state and of the common defence would require, without any dependence on Europe but for necessary protection, would be a tempting spectacle for the English colonies; and, exhibited at their very gates, will hasten the epoch of their revolution."

But, while the statesmen of France were pleasing themselves with the thought of founding at New Orleans a commercial republic like Venice or Amsterdam, as a place of refuge for the discontented of every creed and tongue,

Spain took counsel only of her pride. "The world must see that I," said the Catholic king, "unaided, can crush the audacity of sedition." Aware of the wishes of the French ministers, he concealed his purpose by making no military preparations at Cadiz, and despatched Alexander O'Reilly in all haste for Cuba, with orders to extirpate the sentiment of independence at New Orleans.

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England had proved herself superior in war to the combined power of Spain and France. Could not she crush the insolent town of Boston, suppress its free schools, shut up its town-hall, sequester its liberties, drag its patriots to the gallows, and for the life, restless enterprise, fervid charities, and liberal spirit of that moral and industrious town, substitute the quiet monotony of obsequious obedience? England could not do what a feebler despotism might have undertaken without misgivings. She stood self-restrained. A part of the ministry wished the charter of Massachusetts abrogated; and the lawyers declared that nothing had been done to forfeit it. They clamored for judicial victims; and the lawyers said treason had not been committed. They thought to proceed by the hand of power, and were restrained by debates in parliament. Feeble and fluctuating as was the opposition in numbers, it uttered the language of the British constitution and the sentiment of the British people, when it spoke for freedom; and it divided the ministry, when it counselled moderation. England was a land of liberty and law; and the question between her and her colonies must be argued at the bar of reason. Spain could send an army and a special tribunal to sequester estates and execute patriots. England must arraign its accused before a jury; and the necessity of hunting up an enactment of Henry VIII. discovered the supremacy of law, of which the petulant ministry must respect the bounds.

The patriots of Boston were confident of recovering their rights with the consent of England, or by independence. John Adams, though anxious for advancement, scorned the service of the king; and his associates at the bar rendered "themselves unfit for the favor of government," by "abetting" "the popular party." The people of Lexington

came into a resolution to drink no more tea, till the unconstitutional revenue act should be repealed. On the anniversary of the repeal of the stamp act, Samuel Adams held up to public view the grievances inflicted on Americans, by combining the power of taxation with a commercial monopoly, and enforcing them both by fleets, armies, commissioners, guarda-costas, judges of the admiralty, and a host of insolent and rapacious petty officers. He pointed out, on the one hand, the weakness of Great Britain, arising from its corruption, its debt, its intestine divisions, its scarcity of food, its want of alliances; and, on the other, the state of the American colonies, their various climates, soils, produce, rapid increase of population, and the virtue of their inhabitants, and drew the inference that the conduct of Old England was "permitted and ordained by the unsearchable wisdom of the Almighty for hastening" American independence.

The representation of New York, though carefully written, was rejected by the house of commons, because it questioned the right of parliament to tax America. But, this sovereignty being asserted, the ministry, terrified by the recovery of Chatham and by the diminution of exports, wished the controversy with the colonies well over. Hillsborough's plan for altering the charter of Massachusetts was laid aside; discretionary orders were transmitted to Gage to "send back to Halifax the two regiments, which were brought from that station, and to send two others to Ireland." Bernard was to be superseded by Hutchinson, a town-born citizen of Boston. New York was to be secured by a confirmation of its jurisdiction over Vermont, and the permission to issue paper money; Virginia, by a more extended boundary at the west.

At the same time, England professed to seek a good understanding with France. But Choiseul remembered too well the events of 1755. He witnessed, also, the effort of England to counterbalance the influence of France by a northern alliance. Just before leaving office, Shelburne had planned a concert with France, that their joint interposition might rescue Poland; it was Rochford's

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fixed desire that the empress should derive advantage from the war against the Turks, should be able to dispose of the whole north by main strength or by predominant influence, and should then sanction an alliance with the court of London.

"The English secretary," answered Choiseul, "does not look at these objects from the higher point of view, which should engage the attention of a great minister. Nothing can be more dangerous for the repose of humanity, nor more to be feared for the principal powers of Europe, than the success of the ambitious projects of Russia. Far from seeking, on such a supposition, the alliance of the empress, ^{1769.} it would become their most essential interest to unite ^{April.} to destroy her preponderance. If the pretended balance of power can be annihilated, it will be by the prodigious increase of the material and moral strength of Russia. She is now laboring to enslave the north; she will next encroach on the liberty of the south, unless an effective check is seasonably put to her inordinate passion of despotism. Instead of contributing to the aggrandizement of Russia, the principal courts ought jointly to restrain her cupidity, which may in some respects realize the chimerical idea, once attributed to France, of aiming at universal monarchy."

Thus the rivalry of England and France met at every point; yet how changed were their relations! The cabinet of France desired to loosen the bonds that shackled trade; that of England, to hold them close. France aspired to protect the liberties of Europe against Russian inroads; England invited Russia to become the arbiter for Europe and the world. France desired the independence of all colonial possessions; England, to retain her own in complete dependence. Both needed peace; but Choiseul, fearing a rupture at any moment, "never lost out of sight that, to preserve peace, it was necessary to be in a condition to sustain a war." England and France grew more and more distrustful of one another; and, while the latter was accepting the liberal results of free inquiry, England more and more forgot that her greatness sprung from her liberty.

The publication of American letters, which had been laid before parliament and copied for Beckford, unmasked Ber-

nard's duplicity. The town of Boston repelled the allegation that they were held to their allegiance only by "terror and force of arms." In their representation to the king, which Barré presented, they entreated the removal of the troops, a communication of the charges against them, and an opportunity to make their defence. The council, too, calmly and unanimously proved their own undeviating respect for law, and set in a strong light Bernard's perpetual conspiracy for "the destruction of their constitution." All the colonies, one after another, matured agreements for passive resistance to parliamentary taxation. On the tenth of April, the general assembly of New York, at the motion of Philip Livingston, thanked the merchants of the city and colony for suspending trade with Great Britain. He would next have renewed the resolves, which had occasioned the dissolution of the last assembly; but he was himself ousted from the present one, for want of a residence ^{1769.} within the manor for which he had been returned. April.

Yet the system of non-importation was rigorously carried out. The merchants of Philadelphia unanimously adopted the agreement, which a few months before they had declined.

At Mount Vernon, Washington tempered yet cheered and animated those around him. "Our lordly masters in Great Britain," said he, "will be satisfied with nothing less than the deprivation of American freedom. Something should be done to maintain the liberty which we have derived from our ancestors. No man should hesitate a moment to use arms in defence of so valuable a blessing. Yet arms should be the last resource. We have proved the inefficacy of addresses to the throne and remonstrances to parliament; how far their attention to our rights and privileges is to be awakened by starving their trade and manufactures, remains to be tried." And, counselling with his friend George Mason, he prepared a scheme to be offered at the coming session of the Virginia house of burgesses.

While the British ministry was palsied by indecision, Thomas Pownall urged "parliament at once, in advance of new difficulties, to repeal the act, end the controversy, and

give peace to the two countries." Trecothick seconded the motion, dwelling on commercial reasons. "We will not consent," replied Lord North, "to go into the question, on account of the combinations in America. To do so would be to furnish a fresh instance of haste, impatience, levity, and fickleness. I see nothing uncommercial in making the Americans pay a duty upon tea."

The Rockingham party were willing that the act should remain to embarrass the ministers. Conway proposed to defer its consideration to the next session. "I approve the middle course," said Beckford. "The duty upon tea, with a great army to collect it, has produced in the southern part of America only two hundred and ninety-four pounds, fourteen shillings; in the northern part, it has produced nothing." "For the sake of a paltry revenue," cried Lord Beauchamp, "we lose the affection of two millions of people." "We have trusted to terror too long," observed Jackson. "Washing my hands of the charge of severity," answered Lord North, "I will not vote for holding out hopes that may not be realized." "If you are ready to repeal this act," retorted Grenville, "why keep it in force for a single hour? You ought not to do so from anger or ill-humor. Why dally and delay in a business of such infinite importance? Why pretend that this is not the time, when the difficulty is every day increasing? If the act is wrong, or you cannot maintain it, give it up like men. If you do not mean to bind the colonies by your laws in cases of taxation, tell the Americans so fairly, and conciliate their affections." Lord North put an end to the conversation, by moving the previous question for the order of the day. "The British administration will come to no decision," such was Du Châtelet's report to Choiseul, "till the Americans consolidate their union, and form a general plan of resistance."

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America was not alone in asserting the right of representation; the principle was at the same time violated in England. The freeholders of Middlesex elected Wilkes to represent their shire in parliament. The king wished him expelled; and the house of commons expelled him. The

people rallied to his support ; the city of London made him one of its magistrates ; by the unanimous vote of Middlesex, he was again returned. The house of commons voted the return to be null and void. "Supporters of the bill of rights" united to pay his debts and his election expenses. The third time his intended competitor proved too much of a craven to appear, and he was returned unanimously. Once more his election was annulled. At a fourth trial, he was opposed by Luttrell, but polled nearly three fourths of all the votes. The house of commons, this time, treated him as a person incapacitated to be a candidate, and admitted Luttrell. In disfranchising Wilkes by their own resolution, without authority of law, they violated the vital principle of representative government ; by admitting Luttrell, they sequestered and usurped the elective franchise of Middlesex ; and Wilkes, who, if he had been left to himself, would have fallen into insignificance, became the most conspicuous man in England. Yet the administration heard with alarm how widely passive resistance was extending. Besides, Chatham might reappear ; and Grafton and Camden, in constant dread of his rebuke, insisted that some attempt should be made to conciliate the colonies.

Accordingly, on the first day of May, just on the eve of the prorogation of parliament, the cabinet discussed the policy which it should definitively adopt. All agreed that the duties on the British manufactures of glass, paper, and painters' colors, were contrary to the true principles of commerce, and should be repealed : there remained of Charles Townshend's revenue act nothing but the duty on tea ; and this, evaded by smuggling or by abstinence from its use, yielded in all America not fifteen hundred dollars, not three hundred pounds a year. Why should it be retained, at the cost of the affections of thirteen provinces and two millions of people ? Grafton, the head of the treasury board, spoke first and earnestly for its repeal ; Camden seconded him with equal vigor ; Granby and Conway gave their voice and their vote on the same side ; and Sir Edward Hawke, whom illness detained from the meeting, was of their opinion. Had not Grafton and Camden con-

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sented to remove Shelburne, the measure would have been carried, and American independence indefinitely postponed. But Rochford, with Gower and Weymouth, adhered to Hillsborough. The responsibility of deciding fell to Lord North. Of a merciful disposition and of rare intelligence, he was known to be at heart for the repeal of the tax on tea. The most questionable acts of his public career proceeded from "an amiable weakness, which followed him through life, the want of power to resist the influence of those he loved." It was the king who swayed him, contrary to his most earnest wish, and his intention at that very time, to give his deciding vote in the cabinet against the repeal.

Neither the Bedford party nor the king meant to give up the right to tax; and they clung to the duty on tea, as an evidence of lordly superiority. "We can grant nothing to the Americans," said Hillsborough, "except what they may ask with a halter round their necks." "They are a race of convicts," said the famous Samuel Johnson, "and ought to be thankful for any thing we allow them short of hanging." A circular was sent forthwith to all the colonies, promising, on the part of the ministry, to lay no more taxes on America for revenue, and to repeal those on paper, glass, and colors. It was pitiful in Camden to blame the paper as not couched in terms so conciliatory as those in the minute of the cabinet, for the substance of the decision had been truly given. More honeyed words would have been useless hypocrisy. When Camden acquiesced in the removal of Shelburne, he gave his assent to his own humiliation.

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On the day of the prorogation of parliament the legislature of Virginia assembled at Williamsburg. Great men were there; some who were among the greatest, Washington, Patrick Henry, and, for the first time, Jefferson. Botetourt, who opened the session in state, was in perfect harmony with the council; received from the house of burgesses a most dutiful address; and entertained fifty-two guests at his table on the first day, and as many more on the second. He took care to make "a judicious use" of the permission which he had received to negotiate an extended boundary with the Cherokees. Presiding in the

highest court in Virginia, he concurred with the council in deciding that the grant of a writ of assistance to custom-house officers was not warranted by act of parliament. But the assembly did not forget its duty, and devised a measure which became the example for the continent.

Meeting the declaration of parliament by a direct negative of its own, it claimed the sole right of imposing taxes on the inhabitants of Virginia. With equal unanimity, it asserted the lawfulness and expediency of a concert of the colonies in care for the violated rights of America. It laid bare the flagrant tyranny of applying to America the obsolete statute of Henry VIII., and it warned the king of "the dangers that would ensue," if any person in any part of America should be seized and carried beyond sea for trial. It consummated its work by communicating its resolutions to every legislature in America, and asking their concurrence. The resolves were concise, simple, and effective; so calm in manner and so perfect in substance that time finds no omission to regret, no improvement to suggest. The menace of arresting patriots lost its terrors; and Virginia's declaration and action consolidated union.

Is it asked who was the adviser of the measure? None can tell. Great things were done, and were done tranquilly and modestly, without a thought of the glory that was their due. Had the Ancient Dominion been silent, I will not say that Massachusetts might have faltered; but mutual trust would have been wanting. American freedom was more prepared by courageous counsel than by successful war. The assembly had but one mind, and their resolves were the act of Virginia. Had they been framed by the leaders in Massachusetts Bay themselves, "they could not have been better adapted to vindicate their past proceedings, and to encourage them to perseverance."

The next morning, the assembly had just time to adopt an address to the king, when the governor summoned them, and said: "I have heard of your resolves, and augur ill of their effects; you have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

Upon this, the burgesses met together as patriots and

1769.
May.

friends, with their speaker as moderator. They adopted the resolves which Washington had brought with him from Mount Vernon, and which formed a well-digested, stringent, and practicable scheme of non-importation, until all the "unconstitutional" revenue acts should be repealed. Such, too, was their zeal against the slave-trade that they made a special covenant with one another not to import any slaves, nor purchase any imported. These associations were signed by Peyton Randolph, Richard Bland, Archibald Cary, Robert Carter Nicholas, Richard Henry Lee, Washington, Carter Braxton, Henry, Jefferson, Nelson, and all the burgesses of Virginia there assembled; and were then sent throughout the country for the signature of every man in the colony.

1769.

May. The voice of the Old Dominion roused Pennsylvania from its slumbers to express through its merchants their approval of what had been done. Delaware did still better: her assembly adopted the Virginia resolves word for word; and every colony south of Virginia followed the example.

CHAPTER XLI.

REPUBLICANISM IN THE EAST AND THE WEST. HILLSBOROUGH'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE COLONIES CONTINUED.

MAY—AUGUST, 1769.

For more than ten months, the colony remained without an assembly. Of five hundred and eight votes that were cast in Boston at the ensuing choice of its representatives, Otis, Cushing, Samuel Adams, and Hancock, the old members, received more than five hundred. They were instructed to insist on the departure of the army from the town and province, and not to pay any thing towards its support. Of the ninety-two who voted not to rescind, eighty-one, probably all who were candidates, were re-elected; of the seventeen rescinders, only five. Especially Salem condemned the conduct of its former representatives, and substituted two Sons of Liberty. Cambridge charged Thomas Gardner, its representative, "to use his best endeavors that all their rights might be transmitted inviolable to the latest posterity." Nor let history speak the praise only of those who win glory in the field or high honors in the state; a place should be reserved for a husbandman like him, rich in the virtues of daily life, of calm and modest courage, trustworthy and unassuming, who was sent from cultivating his fields to take part in legislation, and carried to his task a discerning mind, a guileless heart, and fidelity even to death. The town of Roxbury recommended a correspondence between the house of representatives in Massachusetts and the assemblies of other provinces.

Meantime, Bernard received his letters of recall. The blow came on him unexpectedly, as he was procuring settlers

1769.
May.

for his lands, and promising himself a long enjoyment of office under military protection. True to his character, he remained, to get, if he could, an appropriation for his own salary for a year, and to bequeath confusion to his successor. The legislature, before even electing a clerk or a speaker, complained to him of the presence of "the armament by sea and land, in the port and the gates of the city, during the session of the assembly." On the election of councillors, he disapproved of no less than eleven; among them, of Brattle and Bowdoin, who had been chosen by a unanimous vote. The house then considered the presence among them of troops, over whom the governor avowed that the civil power in the province did not extend. In a message
1769. to him, they represented that the employment of the
May. military to enforce the laws was inconsistent with the spirit of a free constitution; that a standing army, in so far as it was uncontrollable by the civil authority of the province, was an absolute power. Gage had at that time discretionary authority to withdraw all the forces from Boston; he had ordered two regiments to Halifax, and was disposed to send away the rest; but Bernard, after consultation with the crown officers, gave his written opinion that it would be ruinous to remove them.

To worry the house into voting him, on the eve of his departure, a full year's salary, he adjourned the legislature to Cambridge; the house, by a unanimous vote, one hundred and nine members being present, petitioned the king to remove him for ever from the government. Another week passes. Bernard threatened to give his assent to no act which the grant of his salary did not precede. The house, disdainfully rejecting his renewed demand, adopted nearly word for word the three resolutions of Virginia on taxation, inter-colonial correspondence, and trial by a jury of the vicinage.

For the troops thus quartered in Boston against the will of the province, Bernard demanded the appropriations which the billeting act required. "Be explicit and distinct," said he, in a second message, "that there may be no mistake." After grave deliberation in a most unusually numerous house of one hundred and seven, they made answer: "As represen-

tatives, by the royal charter and the nature of our trust, we are only empowered to grant such aids as are reasonable, of which we are free and independent judges, at liberty to follow the dictates of our own understanding, without regard to the mandates of another. As we cannot, consistently with our honor or interest, and much less with the duty we owe our constituents, so we shall NEVER make provision for the purposes mentioned in your messages.”

1769.
July.

“To his majesty,” rejoined Bernard in his last words, “and, if he pleases, to his parliament, must be referred your invasion of the rights of the imperial sovereignty. By your own acts you will be judged.” And he prorogued the general court to the tenth of January.

Newport, Rhode Island, witnessed bolder resistance. A vessel with a cargo of prohibited goods was rescued from the revenue officers, whose ship, named “Liberty,” was destroyed.

Just as this was heard of at Boston, Hillsborough’s circular, promising relief from all “real” grievances and a repeal of the duties on glass, paper, and colors, as contrary to the true principles of commerce, was made public by Bernard. The merchants, assembling on the twenty-seventh of July, unanimously voted this partial repeal insufficient, since the duty reserved on tea was to save “the right” of taxing; and they resolved to send for no more goods from Great Britain, a few specified articles excepted, unless the revenue acts should be repealed. The inhabitants were to purchase nothing from violators of this engagement; the names of recusant importers were to be published; and a committee was appointed to state the embarrassments to commerce, growing out of the late regulations.

On the last evening of July, Bernard, having completed his pecuniary arrangements with Hutchinson, who was to be his successor, left Boston. “He was to have sent home whom he pleased,” said the Bostonians; “but, the die being thrown, poor Sir Francis Bernard was the rogue to go first.”

Trained as a wrangling proctor in an ecclesiastical court,

he had been a quarrelsome disputant rather than a statesman. His parsimony went to the extreme of meanness; his avarice was insatiable and restless. So long as he connived at smuggling, he reaped a harvest in that way; when Grenville's sternness inspired alarm, his greed was for forfeitures and penalties. Assuming to respect the charter, he was unwearied in zeal for its subversion; professing opposition to taxation by parliament, he urged it with all his power; asserting most solemnly that he had never asked for troops, he importuned for ships-of-war and an armed force. His reports were often false, partly with design, partly from the credulity of panic. He placed every thing in the most unfavorable light, and was at all times ready to magnify trivial rumors into acts of treason. The
^{1769.}
^{July.} officers of the army and the navy openly despised him for his cowardly duplicity. "He has essentially served us," said the clergyman Cooper; "had he been wise, our liberties might have been lost."

As he departed, the bells were rung, and cannon fired from the wharfs; Liberty Tree was gay with flags; and at night a great bonfire was kindled upon Fort Hill. When he reached England, he found that the ministry had promised the London merchants never to employ him in America again.

While Boston was advancing towards republicanism, the enthusiasm which had made the revolution at New Orleans could not shape for that colony a tranquil existence. A new petition to France expressed the resolve of the inhabitants to preserve the dear and inviolable name of French citizens, at the peril of their lives and fortunes. They applied to the English; but the governor at Pensacola abstained from offending powers with which his sovereign was at peace. The dread of Spain inspired the design of founding a republic, with an elective council of forty and a protector. It was even proposed, if Louisiana was to be given up to his Catholic majesty, to burn New Orleans to the ground, and leave to an unwelcome master nothing but a desert. When, near the end of July, O'Reilly arrived at the Balise with an overwhelming force, despair prevailed for a

moment; and white cockades were distributed by the republicans. "O'Reilly is not come to ruin the colony," said Aubry, who had received instructions to feign ingenuous candor. "If you submit," he repeated publicly and by authority, "the general will treat you with kindness, and you may have full confidence in the clemency of his Catholic majesty." These promises won faith; and, with Aubry's concurrence, a committee of three, Lafrénière for the council, Marquis for the colonists, and Milhet for the merchants, waited on O'Reilly at the Balise, to recognise his authority and implore his mercy.

O'Reilly welcomed the deputies with treacherous politeness and the fairest promises, detained them to dine, and dismissed them confident of a perfect amnesty. Villeré, who had escaped, returned to the city. 1769.
Aug.

On the morning of the eighth of August, the Spanish squadron of four-and-twenty vessels, bearing three thousand chosen troops, anchored in front of New Orleans; before the day was over, possession was taken in behalf of the Catholic king, and the Spanish flag was raised at every post. On the twentieth, Aubry made a full report of the events of the revolution, and named its chiefs in the enterprise. "It was not easy to arrest them," wrote O'Reilly; "but I contrived to cheat their vigilance." On the twenty-first, he received at his home the principal inhabitants; and he invited the people's syndics, one by one, to pass into his private apartment. Each one accepted the invitation as a special honor, till, finding themselves assembled and alone, they showed signs of anxiety. "For me," says O'Reilly, "I now had none for the success of my plan." Entering his cabinet with Aubry and three Spanish civil officers, he spoke to those who were thus caught in his toils: "Gentlemen, the Spanish nation is venerated throughout the globe. Louisiana is then the only country in the universe where it fails to meet with the respect which is its due. His Catholic majesty is greatly provoked at the violence to his governor, and at the publications outraging his government and the Spanish nation. You are charged with being the chiefs of this revolt; I arrest you in his name." The

accused were conducted with ostentation to separate places of confinement; Villeré, to the frigate that lay at the levee. It is the tradition that his wife vainly entreated admission to him; that Villeré, hearing her voice, demanded to see her; became frantic with love, anger, and grief, struggled with his guard, and fell dead from passion or from their bayonets. The official report sets forth that he did not survive the first day of bondage.

1769.

Aug.

The unexpected blow spread consternation. An amnesty for the people reserved the right of making further arrests. On the twenty-sixth and the following days, the inhabitants of New Orleans and its vicinity took the oath of allegiance to the Catholic king.

Nearly two months passed in collecting evidence against the devoted victims. They denied the jurisdiction of the Spanish tribunal over actions done under the flag of France during the prevalence of French laws. But the estates of the twelve, who were the richest and most considerable men in the province, were confiscated in whole or in part for the benefit of the officers employed in the trial; six were sentenced to imprisonment for six or ten years, or for life; the memory of Villeré was declared infamous; the remaining five, Lafrénière, his young son-in-law Noyau, Caresse, Marquis, and Joseph Milhet, were condemned to be hanged.

The citizens of New Orleans entreated time for a petition to Charles III.; the wives, daughters, and sisters of those who had not shared in the revolution appealed to O'Reilly for mercy, but without effect. Tradition will have it that the young and gallant Noyau, newly married, might have escaped; but he refused to fly from the doom of his associates. On the twenty-fifth of October, the five martyrs to their love of France and liberty were brought forth pinioned, and, in presence of the troops and the people, were shot. "At length," said O'Reilly, "the insult done to the king's dignity and authority in this province is repaired. The example now given can never be effaced."

Spaniards, as well as men of other nations, censured the sanguinary revenge. In the parishes of Louisiana, O'Reilly was received with silent submission. The king of Spain

approved his acts; and the council for the Indies found in his administration "nothing but evidence of the immensity and sublimity of his genius." Aubry 1769. perished on his voyage to France, in a ship which foundered in the Garonne. By the aid of France, the six prisoners were set free.

The census of the city of New Orleans showed a population of eighteen hundred and one white persons, thirty-one free blacks, sixty-eight free persons of mixed blood, sixty domiciliated Indians, and twelve hundred and twenty-five slaves: in all, three thousand one hundred and ninety souls. The population in the valley of the Mississippi, then subject to the Spanish sway, is estimated at thirteen thousand five hundred. The privileges granted by France were abolished, and the colony was organized like other possessions of Spain. But Spain willingly kept New Orleans depressed, that it might not attract the cupidity of England. Its system of restriction struck its victim to the heart.

The settlement of the wilderness was promoted by native pioneers. Jonathan Carver, of Connecticut, had in three former years explored the borders of Lake Superior, and the country of the Sioux beyond it; had obtained more accurate accounts of the Great River, which bore, as he reported, the name of Oregon and flowed into the Pacific; and he returned to celebrate the richness of the copper mines of the north-west; to recommend English settlements on the western extremity of the continent; and to propose opening, by aid of lakes and rivers, a passage to the Pacific, as the best route for communicating with China and the East Indies.

Illinois invited emigrants more than ever; for its aboriginal inhabitants were fast disappearing. In April, 1769, Pontiac had been assassinated by an Illinois Indian, in time of peace; the Indians of the north-west sent belts to all the nations to avenge the murder. In vain did five or six hundred of the Illinois crowd for protection round the walls of Fort Chartres: the ruthless spirit of reciprocal slaughter was not appeased till the Illinois tribes were nearly all exterminated, and their fertile prairies, cooled during the

summer by the prevailing west wind, were left vacant for the white man.

Connecticut, which at this time was exercising a disputed jurisdiction in the valley of Wyoming, did not forget that by its charter its possessions extended indefinitely to the west; and a company of "military adventurers," headed by one of its most intelligent sons, was also soliciting leave from England to found a colony on the south-east bank of the Mississippi.

In his peaceful habitation on the banks of the Yadkin, in North Carolina, Daniel Boone had heard Finley, the memorable pioneer trader, describe a tract of land west of Virginia as the richest in North America or in the world. In May, 1769, having Finley as his pilot, and four others as companions, the young man, then about three-and-twenty, leaving his wife and offspring, wandered forth "in quest of the country of Kentucky," midway between the subjects of the Five Nations and the Cherokees, known to the savages as "the Dark and Bloody Ground." After a fatiguing journey through mountain ranges, the party found themselves in June on the Red River, a tributary of the Kentucky, and from the top of an eminence surveyed with delight the beautiful plain that stretched to the north-west. Here they built their shelter, and began to reconnoitre the country and to hunt. All the kinds of wild beast that were natural to America, the stately elk, the timid deer, the antlered stag, the wild-cat, the bear, the panther, and the wolf, couched among the canes, or roamed over the rich grasses, which sprung luxuriantly even beneath the thickest shade. The buffaloes cropped fearlessly the herbage, or browsed on the leaves of the reed, and were more frequent than cattle in the settlements of Carolina herdsmen. Sometimes there were hundreds in a drove, and round the salt licks their numbers were amazing.

The summer, in which for the first time a party of white men remained near the Elkhorn, passed away in explorations and the chase. But Boone's companions dropped off, till he was left alone with John Stewart. These two found unceasing delight in the wonders of the forest, till one evening,

near Kentucky River, they were taken prisoners by a band of Indians, wanderers like themselves. They escaped, and were joined by Boone's brother; so that when Stewart was soon after killed by savages, the first among the hecatombs of white men slain by them in their desperate battling for the lovely hunting-ground, Boone still had his brother to share with him the building and occupying of the first cottage in Kentucky.

In the spring of 1770, that brother returned to the settlements for horses and supplies of ammunition, leaving the renowned hunter "by himself, without bread, or salt, or sugar, or even a horse, or dog." "The idea of a beloved wife," anxious for his safety, tinged his thoughts with sadness; but otherwise the cheerful, meditative man, careless of wealth, knowing the use of the rifle, though not the plough, of a strong, robust frame, in the vigorous health of early manhood, ignorant of books, but versed in forest life, ever fond of tracking the deer on foot, away from men, yet in his disposition humane, generous, and gentle, was happy in the uninterrupted succession "of sylvan pleasures."

He held unconscious intercourse with beauty
Old as creation.

One calm summer's evening, as he climbed a commanding ridge, and looked out upon remote "venerable mountains," the nearer ample plains, and the distant Ohio, his heart overflowed with gladness for the beautiful land which he had found. "All things were still." Not a breeze so much as shook a leaf. Kindling a fire near a fountain of sweet water, he feasted on the loin of a buck. He was no more alone than a bee among flowers, but communed familiarly with the whole universe of life. Nature was his intimate; and, as the contemplative woodsman leaned trustingly on her bosom, she responded to his love. For him, the rocks and the crystal springs, the leaf and the blade of grass, had life; the cooling air, laden with the wild perfume, came to him as a friend; the dewy morning wrapped him in its embrace; the trees stood up gloriously round about him, as so many myriads of companions. How could he be afraid? Triumphant over danger, he knew no fear. The nightly

howling of the wolves, near his cottage or his bivouac in the brake, was his diversion ; and by day he had joy in surveying the various species of animals that surrounded him. He loved the solitude better than the towered city or the hum of business.

Near the end of July, 1770, his faithful brother came back to him at the old camp ; and they proceeded together to Cumberland River, giving names to the different waters. He then returned to his wife and children, fixed in his purpose, at the risk of life and fortune, to move them as soon as possible to Kentucky, which he held to be a second paradise.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENT ENFORCED. THE NEW
TORY PARTY INSTALLED IN POWER.

AUGUST, 1769—JANUARY, 1770.

“THE lieutenant-governor well understands my system,” wrote Bernard, as he transferred the government. Hutchinson was descended from one of the earliest settlers of Massachusetts, and loved the land of his birth. A native of Boston, he was its representative for ten years, during three of which he was speaker of the assembly; for more than ten other years, he was a member of the council, as well as judge of probate; since June, 1758, he had been lieutenant-governor, and since September, 1760, chief justice also; and twice he had been chosen colonial agent. No man was so experienced in the public affairs of the colony; and no one was so familiar with its history, usages, and laws. In the legislature, he had assisted to raise the credit of Massachusetts by substituting hard money for a paper currency. As a judge, though he decided political questions with the subserviency of a courtier, yet, in approving wills, he was considerate towards the orphan and the widow, and he heard private suits with unblemished integrity. In adjusting points of difference with a neighboring jurisdiction, he was faithful to the province by which he was employed. His advancement to administrative power was fatal to England and to himself; for the love of money, which was his ruling passion in youth, had grown with his years.

1769.
Aug.

A nervous timidity, which was natural to him, had been increased by age as well as by the riots on account of the stamp act, and at times made him false to his employers.

While he cringed to the minister, he trembled before the people. At Boston, he professed zeal for the interests and liberties of the province; had at one time courted its favor by denying the right of parliament to tax America either internally or externally; and had argued with conclusive ability against the expediency and the equity of such a measure. He now redoubled his attempts to deceive; wrote favorable letters which he never sent, but read to those about him as evidence of his good-will; and professed even to have braved hostility in England for his attachment to colonial liberties, while he gave in his adhesion to the highest system of metropolitan authority, and devoted his rare ability and his intimate acquaintance with the history and constitution of the province to suggest a system of coercive measures, which England gradually and reluctantly adopted.

1769.
Aug.

Wherever the colony had a friend, he would set before him such hints as might incline him to harsh judgments. Even to Franklin, he vouched for the tales of Bernard as "most just and candid." He paid court to the enemies of American liberty by stimulating them to the full indulgence of their malignity. He sought out great men, and those who stood at the door of great men, the underlings of Grenville or Hillsborough or Jenkinson or the king, and urged incessantly the bringing on of the crisis by the immediate intervention of parliament. He advised the change of the charter of the province, as well as of those of Rhode Island and Connecticut; the dismemberment of Massachusetts; the diminution of the liberties of New England towns; the establishment of a citadel within the town of Boston; the stationing of a fleet in its harbor; the experiment of martial law; the transportation of "incendiaries" to England; the prohibition of the New England fisheries; with other measures, like closing the port of Boston, which he dared not trust to paper, and recommended only by insinuations and verbal messages. At the same time, he entreated the concealment of his solicitations. "Keep secret every thing I write," said he to Whately, his channel for communicating with Grenville. "I have never yet seen

any rational plan for a partial subjection," he writes to Jenkinson's influential friend, Mauduit, whom he retained as his own agent; "my sentiments upon these points should be concealed." Though he kept back many of his thoughts, he begged Bernard to burn his letters. "It will be happy if, in the next session, parliament make thorough work," he would write to the secretary of the board of trade; and then "caution" him to "suffer no parts of his letters to transpire." "I humbly entreat your lordship that my letters may not be made public," was his ever renewed prayer to successive secretaries of state, so that he conducted the government like one engaged in a conspiracy or an intrigue. But some of his letters could hardly fail to be discovered; and then it would be disclosed that he had laid snares for the life of patriots, and had urged the "thorough" overthrow of English liberty in America.

In New York, where the agreement of non-importation originated, every one, without so much as a single dissentient, approved it as wise and legal; persons in high stations declared against the revenue acts; and the governor wished their repeal. His acquiescence in the associations for coercing that repeal led the moderate men among the patriots of New York to plan a union of the colonies in an American parliament, preserving the governments of the several colonies, and having the members of the general parliament chosen by their respective legislatures. Their confidence of immediate success assisted to make them alike disinclined to independence, and confident of bringing England to reason by suspending trade.

The people of Boston, stimulated by the scrupulous fidelity of New York, were impatient that a son of Bernard, two sons of Hutchinson, and about five others, would not accede to the agreement. At a meeting of merchants in Faneuil Hall, Hancock proposed to send for Hutchinson's two sons, hinting what was true, that the lieutenant-governor was himself a partner with them in their late extraordinary importations of tea. As the best means of coercion, it was voted not to purchase any thing of the

1769.
Aug.

recusants: subscription papers to that effect were carried round from house to house, and everybody complied.

The anniversary of the fourteenth of August was commemorated with unusual solemnity. Three or four hundred dined together in the open field at Dorchester; and, since the ministry had threatened the leading patriots with death for treason, the last of their forty-five toasts was: "Strong halters, firm blocks, and sharp axes, to such as deserve them." The famous liberty song was sung, and all the company with one heart joined in the chorus. At five in the afternoon, they returned in a procession a mile and a half long, entered the town before dark, marched round the state house, and quietly retired each to his own home.

Massachusetts was sustained by South Carolina, whose assembly, imperfectly imitated by New Jersey, refused compliance with the billeting act, and whose people enforced the agreement of not importing, by publishing the names of the few enemies to America who kept aloof from the association.

1769.
Sept.

Incensed at having been aspersed in letters from the public officers in Boston which had been laid before parliament, Otis, who was become almost irresponsible from his nearness to madness, wild with rage, provoked an affray, in which he, being quite alone, was set upon by one of the commissioners of the customs, aided by bystanders, and received "much hurt" from a very severe blow on the head. This affair mixed personal quarrels with the struggle for suspending trade.

Oct. Early in October, a vessel, laden with goods shipped by English houses themselves, arrived at Boston. The military officers stood ready to protect the factors; but Hutchinson permitted the merchants to reduce the consignees to submission, and even directed his two sons to give up eighteen chests of tea, and enter fully into the agreement. Only four merchants held out; and their names, with those of the two sons of Hutchinson, whose sincerity was questioned, remain inscribed as infamous in the journals of the town of Boston. On the fifteenth,

another ship arrived; again the troops looked on as bystanders, and witnessed the victory of the people.

New York next invited Boston to extend the agreement against importing, until every act imposing duties should be repealed; and on the seventeenth, by the 1769.
Oct. great influence of Molineux, Otis, Samuel Adams, and William Cooper, this new form was adopted.

On the eighteenth, the town, summoned together by lawful authority, made their "Appeal to the World." They refuted and covered with ridicule "the false and malicious aspersions" of Bernard, Gage, Hood, and the revenue officers; and adopted the language and intrepidity of Samuel Adams as their own, with a boldness that might be censured as arrogance, had not events proved it to have been magnanimity. "A legal meeting of the town of Boston," such were their words, "is an assembly where a noble freedom of speech is ever expected and maintained; where men think as they please, and speak as they think. Such an assembly has ever been the dread, often the scourge, of tyrants. We should yet be glad that the ancient and happy union between Great Britain and this country might be restored. The taking off the duties on paper, glass, and painters' colors, upon commercial principles only, will not give satisfaction. Discontent runs through the continent upon much higher principles. Our rights are invaded by the revenue acts; therefore, until they are ALL repealed," "and the troops recalled," "the cause of our just complaints cannot be removed."

To meet this declaration, Hutchinson, through secret channels, sent word to Grenville, to Jenkinson and Hillsborough, that all would be set right, if parliament, within the first week of its session, would change the municipal government of Boston, incapacitate its patriots to hold any public office, and restore the vigor of authority by decisive action. But, foreseeing the inaction of parliament, he wrote orders for a new and large supply of teas for his sons' shop; and instructed his correspondent how to send them to market, so as to elude the vigilance of the Boston committees.

On the twenty-eighth, a great multitude of people laid hold of an informer, besmeared him with tar and feathers, and, with the troops under arms as spectators, carted him through the town, which was illuminated for the occasion. Terrified by the commotions, the only importers who had continued to stand out capitulated.

The local magistrates put the soldiers on trial for every transgression of the provincial laws. "If they touch you, run them through the bodies," said a captain in the twenty-ninth regiment to his soldiers, and was indicted for the speech. In November, a true bill was found by the grand jury against Thomas Gage, as well as many others, "for slandering the town of Boston." Martial law not having been proclaimed, "a military force," Hutchinson owned, "was of no sort of use," and was "perfectly despised." "Troops," said Samuel Adams, "which have heretofore been the terror of the enemies to liberty, parade the streets, to become the objects of the contempt even of women and children." The menace that he and his friends should be arrested and shipped to England was no more heeded than idle words.

But a different turn was given to public thought, when Botetourt, the king's own friend, communicated to the assembly of Virginia the ministerial promises of a partial repeal, and with the most solemn asseverations abdicated in the king's name all further intentions of taxing America, saying "that his majesty would rather forfeit his crown than keep it by deceit." The council, in its reply, advised the entire repeal of the existing taxes; the burgesses expressed their gratitude for "information sanctified by the royal word," and considered the king's influence to be pledged "towards perfecting the happiness of all his people." Botetourt was so pleased with their address that he found his prospect brighten, and, praising their loyalty, wished them freedom and happiness "till time should be no more."

The flowing and positive assurances of Botetourt encouraged the expectation that the unproductive tax on tea would also be given up. Such was his wish; and such the advice

of Eden, the new lieutenant-governor of Maryland. To the legislature of New York, Colden, who, on the death of Moore, administered the government, announced "the greatest probability that the late duties imposed by the authority of parliament, so much to the dissatisfaction of the colonies, would be taken off in the ensuing session." The confident promise confirmed the loyalty of the house, though, by way of caution, they adopted and put upon their journals the resolves of Virginia.

In the general tendency to conciliation, the mer-
chants of Boston, seeing that those of Philadelphia 1769.
Dec.
confined their agreement for non-importation to the repeal of Townshend's act, gave up their more extensive covenant, and for the sake of union reverted to their first stipulations. The legislature of New York, pleased with the permission to issue colonial bills of credit, sanctioned a compromise by a majority of one.

Thus all America confined its issue with Great Britain to the repeal of the act imposing a duty on tea. "Will not a repeal of all other duties satisfy the colonists?" asked one of the ministerial party, of Franklin in London. And he answered: "I think not; it is not the sum paid in the duty on tea that is complained of as a burden, but the principle of the act, expressed in the preamble."

The question was not a narrow colonial one respecting threepence a pound duty on tea; it involved the reality of representative government. As the cause of the people was everywhere the same, South Carolina in December remitted to London ten thousand five hundred pounds currency to the society for supporting the bill of rights, that the liberties of Great Britain and America might alike be protected.

In Ireland, Bushe, the friend of Grattan, in imitation of Molineux, published "The Case of Great Britain and America," with a vehement invective against Grenville. "Hate him," said he to Grattan; "I hope you hate him." It was Grenville's speeches and Grenville's doctrine "that roused Grattan to enter on his great career in Ireland." In the history of the English people, this year marks the establishment of public meetings, under the lead of Yorkshire. The prin-

ciple of representation, trampled upon by a venal parliament, was to be renovated by the influence of voluntary assemblies. "Can you conceive," wrote the anonymous Junius to the king, "that the people of this country will long submit to be governed by so flexible a house of commons? The oppressed people of Ireland give you every day fresh marks of their resentment. The colonists left their native land for freedom, and found it in a desert. Looking forward to independence, they equally detest the pageantry of a king and the supercilious hypocrisy of a bishop."

1770. The meeting of parliament in January, 1770, would
Jan. decide whether the British empire was to escape dis-
memberment. Chatham recommended to the more liberal aristocracy the junction with the people, which, after sixty years, achieved the reform of the British constitution; but in that day it was opposed by the passions of Burke and the reluctance of the high-born.

The debate on the ninth turned on the rights of the people, and involved the complaints of America and of Ireland, not less than the disfranchisement of Wilkes. "It is vain and idle to found the authority of this house upon the popular voice," said Jenkinson. "The discontents that are held up as spectres," said Thomas de Grey, brother of the attorney-general, "are the senseless clamors of the thoughtless and the ignorant, the lowest of the rabble. The Westminster petition was obtained by a few despicable mechanics, headed by base-born people." "The privileges of the people of this country," interposed Sergeant Glynn, "do not depend upon birth and fortune; they hold their rights as Englishmen, and cannot be divested of them but by the subversion of the constitution." "Were it not for petition hunters and incendiaries," said Rigby, "the farmers of Yorkshire could not possibly take an interest in the Middlesex election of representatives in parliament. The majority, even of the freeholders, is no better than an ignorant multitude."

Up rose the representative of the Yorkshire weavers and freeholders, "the spotless" Sir George Saville. "The greatest evil," said he, "that can befall this nation is the

invasion of the people's rights by the authority of this house. I do not say that the majority have sold the rights of their constituents; but I do say, I have said, and I shall always say, that they have betrayed them. The people understand their own rights and know their own interests as well as we do; for a large paternal estate, a pension, and support in the treasury are greater recommendations to a seat in this assembly than either the honesty of the heart or the clearness of the head."

Gilmour invited censure on such unprecedented expressions; Conway excused them as uttered in heat. "I am not conscious," resumed Saville, "that I have spoken in heat; if I did, I have had time to cool and I again say, as I said before, that this house has betrayed the rights of its constituents." "In times of less licentiousness," rejoined Gilmour, "members have been sent to the Tower for words of less offence." "The mean consideration of my own safety," answered Saville, "shall never be put in the balance against my duty to my constituents. I will own no superior but the laws, nor bend the knee to any but to Him who made me." 1770.
Jan.

The accusation which Saville brought against the house of commons was the gravest that could be presented; if false, was an outrage, in comparison with which that of Wilkes was a trifle. But Lord North bore the reproach meekly, and soothed the majority into quietude. The debate proceeded, and presently Barré spoke: "The people of England know, the people of Ireland know, and the American people feel, that the iron hand of ministerial despotism is lifted up against them; but it is not less formidable against the prince than against the people." "The trumpeters of sedition have produced the disaffection," replied Lord North, speaking at great length. "The drunken ragamuffins of a vociferous mob are exalted into equal importance with men of judgment, morals, and property. I can never acquiesce in the absurd opinion that all men are equal. The contest in America, which at first might easily have been ended, is now for no less than sovereignty on one side, and independence on the other."

The ministry, though vanquished in the argument, carried the house by a very large majority.

In the house of lords, Chatham, whose voice had not been heard for three years, proposed to consider the causes of the discontent which prevailed in so many parts of the British dominions. "I have not," said he, "altered my ideas with regard to the principles upon which America should be governed. I own I have a natural leaning towards that country; I cherish liberty wherever it is planted. America was settled upon ideas of liberty, and the vine has taken deep root and spread throughout the land. Long may it flourish. Call the combinations of the Americans dangerous, yet not unwarrantable. The discontent of two millions of people should be treated candidly; and its foundation removed. Let us save this constitution, dangerously invaded at home, and extend its benefits to the remotest corners of the empire. Let slavery exist nowhere among us; for whether it be in America, or in Ireland, or here at home, you will find it a disease which spreads by contact, and soon reaches from the extremity to the heart."

1770.
Jan.

Camden, whom Chatham's presence awed more than office attracted, awoke to his old friendship for America, and by implication accused his colleagues of conspiring against the liberties of the country.

Lord Mansfield, whose reply to Chatham "was a masterpiece of art and address," declined giving an opinion on the legality of the proceedings of the house of commons in reference to the Middlesex election, but contended that, whether they were right or wrong, the jurisdiction in the case belonged to them, and from their decision there was no appeal. "I distrust," rejoined Chatham, "the refinements of learning, which fall to the share of so small a number of men. Providence has taken better care of our happiness, and given us, in the simplicity of common sense, a rule for our direction by which we shall never be misled." The words were revolutionary. Scotland, in unconscious harmony with Kant and the ablest minds in Germany, was renovating philosophy by the aid of common sense and reason; Chatham transplanted the theory, so favorable to

democracy, into the halls of legislation. "Power without right," he continued, aiming his invective at the venal house of commons, "is a thing hateful in itself, and ever inclining to its fall. Tyranny is detestable in every shape; but in none so formidable as when it is assumed and exercised by a number of tyrants." Though the house of lords opposed him by a vote of more than two to one, the ministry was shattered; and Chatham, feeble and emaciated as he was, sprang forward with the party of Rockingham, to beat down the tottering system, and raise on its ruins a government more friendly to liberty.

But the king was the best politician among them all. Dismissing Camden, he sent an offer of the chancellor's place to Charles Yorke, who was of the Rockingham connection. He had long coveted the high dignity beyond any thing on earth. Now that it was within his reach, he vacillated, wished delay, and put the temptation aside. "If you will not comply," said the king, "it must make an eternal breach between us." Yorke gave way, was reproached by Hardwicke his brother, and by Rockingham; begged his brother's forgiveness, kissed him, and parted friends; and then, with a fatal sensibility to fame, went home to die by his own hand. His appalling fate dismayed the ministry, and encouraged the opposition.

On the twenty-second, Rockingham, overcoming his nervous weakness, summoned resolution to make a long speech in the house of lords in defence of the old system of English government, which restrained the royal prerogative by privilege. While the leader of the great whig party cherished no hope of improvement from any change in the forms of the constitution, Chatham, once more the man of the people, rose to do service to succeeding generations. "Whoever," said he, "understands the theory of the English constitution, and will compare it with the fact, must see at once how widely they differ. We must reconcile them to each other, if we wish to save the liberties of this country. The constitution intended that there should be a permanent relation between the constituent and representative body of the people. As the house of commons is now

1770.
Jan.

formed, that relation is destroyed ;” and he proceeded to open, as the mature result of long reflection, a most cautious beginning of parliamentary reform. The reform of the English parliament! How much must take place before that event can come about!

Shrinking from the storm, Grafton threw up his office. The king affected regret, but had provided against the contingency. He would not hear of trying Rockingham and his friends ; and “as for Chatham,” said he, “I will abdicate the crown sooner than consent to his requirements.” Before the world knew of the impending change, he sent Weymouth and Gower, of the Bedford party, “to press Lord North in the most earnest manner to accept the office of first lord commissioner of the treasury,” preceding their visit by a friendly autograph note of his own. Lord North did not hesitate ; and the king exerted all his ability and his ten years’ experience to establish his choice.

1770.

Jan.

On the last day of January, the new prime minister, amidst great excitement and the sanguine hopes of the opposition, appeared in the house of commons. “The ship of state,” said Barré, “tossed on a stormy sea, is scudding under a jury-mast, and hangs out signals for pilots from the other side.” “The pilots on board are very capable of conducting her into port,” answered North ; and he prevailed by a majority of forty. “A very handsome majority,” said the king ; “a very favorable auspice on your taking the lead in administration. A little spirit will soon restore order in my service.” From that night the new tory party ruled the cabinet. Its opponents were divided between those who looked back to privilege as their old harbor of refuge, and those who saw beyond the abasement of the aristocracy a desirable increase of popular power.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE BOSTON MASSACRE. HILLSBOROUGH'S ADMINISTRATION
OF THE COLONIES CONTINUED.

JANUARY—MARCH, 1770.

"THE troops must move to the castle," said Samuel Adams; "it must be the first business of the general court to move them out of town." Otis went about declaiming that "the governor had power to do it by the constitution." "We consider this metropolis, and indeed the whole province, under duress," wrote Cooper, the minister. "The troops greatly corrupt our morals, and are in every sense an oppression;" and his New Year's prayer to Heaven asked deliverance from their presence.

The Massachusetts assembly was to meet on the tenth of January, and distant members were already on their journey; when Hutchinson most unwisely and causelessly prorogued it to the middle of March. The delay prevented any support of its petition against Bernard. The reason assigned for the prorogation was neither the good of the colony nor the judgment of the lieutenant-governor, but an arbitrary instruction from Hillsborough; and of such an instruction Samuel Adams denied the validity.

The spirit of non-importation had not abated; yet, as tea had advanced one hundred per cent, Hutchinson, who was himself a very large importer of it, could no longer restrain his covetousness. His two eldest sons, therefore, who were his agents, violating their engagement, broke open the lock, of which they had given the key to the committee of merchants, and secretly made sales. "Do they imagine," cried Samuel Adams, "they can still weary the patience of an injured country with impunity?" and avowing that, in the

present case, the will of society was not declared in its laws, he called not on the merchants only, but on every individual of every class in city and country, to compel the strictest adherence to the agreement. "This," said Bernard's
1770. friends, "is as good a time as any to call out the
Jan. troops;" for they thought it best to bring matters "to extremities," and Dalrymple ordered his men to equip themselves with twelve rounds for an attack.

The merchants, in pursuance of a vote at a very full meeting, went in a body to the house of the Hutchinsons. Allowing none of them to enter, the lieutenant-governor himself threw up a window, and pretended to charge them with a tumultuous and menacing application to him as chief magistrate. "We come," they answered, "to treat with your sons, who have violated their own contract, to which they had pledged their honor." "A contract," answered Hutchinson, from the window, "without a valuable consideration is not valid in law;" but he remained in great perplexity, fearing loss of property by riot. Early the next morning, he sent for the upright William Phillips, the moderator of the meeting, and engaged for his sons to deposit the price of the tea that had been sold, and to return the rest. The capitulation was reported to the meeting, and accepted.

"He has now thrown down the reins into the hands of the people," cried the customs' commissioners, "and he can never recover them." "I am a ruined man," said he despondingly to Phillips. "I humbly hope," thus he wrote to those who dealt out offices in London, "that a single error in judgment will not cancel more than thirty years' laborious and disinterested services in support of government." He looked to his council; and they would take no part in breaking up the system of non-importation. He called in all the justices who lived within fifteen miles; and they thought it not incumbent on them to interrupt the proceedings. He sent the sheriff into the adjourned meeting of the merchants with a letter to the moderator, requiring them in his majesty's name to disperse; and the meeting, of which justices of peace, selectmen, representa-

tives, constables, and other officers made a part, sent him an answer that their assembly was warranted by law. He saw that the answer was in Hancock's handwriting; and he treasured up the autograph, to be produced one day when Hancock should be put on trial.

"It is hard," said Trumbull, now governor of Connecticut, "to break connections with our mother country; but, when she strives to enslave us, the strictest union must be dissolved." "The accomplishment of some notable prophecies is at hand."

The liberty pole raised by the people of New York in the Park stood safely for nearly three years. The soldiery, in February, resolved to cut it down, and after three repulses succeeded. The people, assembling in the fields to the number of three thousand, and without planning retaliation, expressed abhorrence of the soldiers, as enemies to the constitution and to the peace of the city. The soldiers replied by an insulting placard; and, on two successive days, engaged in an affray with the citizens, in which the latter had the advantage. The newspapers loudly celebrated the victory; and the Sons of Liberty, purchasing a piece of land near the junction of Broadway and the high road to Boston, erected a pole, strongly guarded by iron bands and bars, and inscribed "Liberty and Property." At the same time, Macdougall, son of a Presbyterian of the Scottish isle of Ila, having publicly censured the act of the assembly in voting supplies to the troops, was indicted for a libel; and, refusing to give bail, this "first Son of Liberty in bonds for the glorious cause" was visited by such throngs in his prison that he was obliged to appoint hours for their reception.

1770.
Feb.

The men of Boston emulously applauded the spirit of the "Yorkers." Hatred of the parliament's taxes spread into every social circle. One week three hundred wives of Boston, the next a hundred and ten more, with one hundred and twenty-six of the young and unmarried of their sex, renounced the use of tea till the revenue acts should be repealed. How could the troops interfere? Everybody knew that it was against the law for them to fire without

the authority of a civil magistrate; and the more they paraded with their muskets and twelve rounds of ball, the more they were despised, as men who desired to terrify and had no power to harm. Hutchinson, too, was taunted with wishing to destroy town-meetings, through which he himself had risen; and the press, calling to mind his days of shopkeeping, jeered him for his old frauds, as a notorious smuggler.

Theophilus Lillie, who had begun to sell contrary to the agreement, found a post planted before his door, with a hand pointed towards his house in derision. Richardson, an informer, asked a countryman to break the post down by driving the wheel of his cart against it. A crowd of boys chased Richardson to his own house and threw stones. Provoked but not endangered, he fired among them, and killed one of eleven years old, the son of a poor German. At his funeral, five hundred children walked in front of the bier; six of his school-fellows held the pall; and men of all ranks moved in procession from Liberty Tree to the town-house, and thence to the "burying-place." Soldiers and officers looked on with wounded pride. Dalrymple was impatient to be set to work in Boston, or to be ordered elsewhere. The common soldiers of the twenty-ninth regiment were notoriously bad fellows, licentious and overbearing. "I never will miss an opportunity of firing upon the inhabitants," said one of them, Kilroi by name. It was a common feeling in the regiment. On the other hand, a year and a half's training had perfected the people in their part. It was no breach of the law for them to express contempt for the soldiery; they were ready enough to confront them, but they were taught never to do it, except to repel an attack. If any of the soldiers broke the law, which they often did, complaints were made to the local magistrates, who were ready to afford redress. On the other hand, the officers screened their men from legal punishment, and sometimes even rescued them from the constables.

1770. On Friday the second day of March, a soldier of
March. the twenty-ninth asked to be employed at Gray's ropewalk, and was repulsed in the coarsest words. He

then defied the rope-makers to a boxing match ; and, one of them accepting his challenge, he was beaten off. Returning with several of his companions, they too were driven away. A larger number came down to renew the fight with clubs and cutlasses, and in their turn encountered defeat. By this time, Gray and others interposed, and for that day prevented further disturbance.

At the barracks, the soldiers inflamed each other's passions, as if the honor of the regiment were tarnished. On Saturday, they prepared bludgeons ; and, being resolved to brave the citizens on Monday night, they forewarned their particular acquaintances not to be abroad. Without duly restraining his men, Carr, the lieutenant-colonel of the twenty-ninth, made complaint to the lieutenant-governor of the insult they had received. The council, deliberating on Monday, seemed of opinion that the town would never be safe from quarrels between the people and the soldiers, as long as soldiers should be quartered among them. In the present case, the owner of the ropewalk gave satisfaction by dismissing the workman complained of. The officers should, on their part, have kept their men within the barracks after nightfall ; instead of it, they left them to roam the streets. Hutchinson should have insisted on measures of precaution ; but he too much wished the favor of all who had influence at Westminster.

The evening of the fifth came on. The young ^{1770.} moon was shining brightly in a cloudless winter sky, ^{March.} and its light was increased by a new-fallen snow. Parties of soldiers were driving about the streets, making a parade of valor, challenging resistance, and striking the inhabitants indiscriminately with sticks or sheathed cutlasses.

A band, which poured out from Murray's barracks in Brattle Street, armed with clubs, cutlasses, and bayonets, provoked resistance, and a fray ensued. Ensign Maul, at the gate of the barrack-yard, cried to the soldiers : " Turn out, and I will stand by you ; kill them ; stick them ; knock them down ; run your bayonets through them." One soldier after another levelled a firelock, and threatened to " make a lane " through the crowd. Just before nine, as an officer

crossed King Street, now State Street, a barber's lad cried after him: "There goes a mean fellow who hath not paid my master for dressing his hair;" on which, the sentinel stationed at the westerly end of the custom house, on the corner of King Street and Exchange Lane, left his post, and with his musket gave the boy a stroke on the head, that made him stagger and cry for pain.

The street soon became clear, and nobody troubled the sentry, when a party of soldiers issued violently from the main guard, their arms glittering in the moonlight, and passed on, hallooing: "Where are they? where are they? Let them come." Presently twelve or fifteen more, uttering the same cries, rushed from the south into King Street, and so by way of Cornhill, towards Murray's barracks. "Pray, soldiers, spare my life," cried a boy of twelve, whom they met. "No, no, I'll kill you all," answered one of them, and knocked him down with his cutlass. They abused and insulted several persons at their doors and others in the street; "running about like madmen in a fury," crying, "Fire!" which seemed their watchword, and "Where are they? knock them down." Their outrageous behavior occasioned the ringing of the bell at the head of King Street.

The citizens, whom the alarm set in motion, came out with canes and clubs; and, partly by the interference of well-disposed officers, partly by the courage of Crispus Attucks, a mulatto, and some others, the fray at the barracks was soon over. Of the citizens, the prudent shouted, "Home! home!" others, it was said, called out, "Huzza for the main guard! there is the nest;" but the main guard was not molested the whole evening.

A body of soldiers came up Royal Exchange Lane, crying, "Where are the cowards?" and, brandishing their arms, passed through King Street. From ten to twenty boys came after them, asking, "Where are they? where are they?" "There is the soldier who knocked me down," said the barber's boy; and they began pushing one another towards the sentinel. He loaded and primed his musket. "The lobster is going to fire," cried a boy. Waving his

piece about, the sentinel pulled the trigger. "If you fire, you must die for it," said Henry Knox, who was passing by. "I don't care," replied the sentry; "if they touch me, I'll fire." "Fire!" shouted the boys, for they ¹⁷⁷⁰ March were persuaded he could not do it without leave from a civil officer; and a young fellow spoke out, "We will knock him down for snapping;" while they whistled through their fingers and huzzaed. "Stand off!" said the sentry, and shouted aloud, "Turn out, main guard!" "They are killing the sentinel," reported a servant from the custom house, running to the main guard. "Turn out! why don't you turn out?" cried Preston, who was captain of the day, to the guard. "He appeared in a great flutter of spirits," and "spoke to them roughly." A party of six, two of whom, Kilroi and Montgomery, had been worsted at the ropewalk, formed with a corporal in front and Preston following. With bayonets fixed, they "rushed through the people" upon the trot, cursing them, and pushing them as they went along. They found about ten persons round the sentry, while about fifty or sixty came down with them. "For God's sake," said Knox, holding Preston by the coat, "take your men back again; if they fire, your life must answer for the consequences." "I know what I am about," said he hastily, and much agitated. None pressed on them or provoked them, till they began loading, when a party of about twelve in number, with sticks in their hands, moved from the middle of the street where they had been standing, gave three cheers, and passed along the front of the soldiers, whose muskets some of them struck as they went by. "You are cowardly rascals," they said, "for bringing arms against naked men." "Lay aside your guns, and we are ready for you." "Are the soldiers loaded?" inquired Palmes of Preston. "Yes," he answered, "with powder and ball." "Are they going to fire upon the inhabitants?" asked Theodore Bliss. "They cannot, without my orders," replied Preston; while "the town-born" called out, "Come on, you rascals, you bloody backs, you lobster scoundrels, fire, if you dare. We know you dare not." Just then Montgomery received a blow from a stick which had hit

his musket; and the word "Fire!" being given by Preston, he stepped a little on one side, and shot Attucks, who at the time was quietly leaning on a long stick. The people immediately began to move off. "Don't fire!" said Langford, the watchman, to Kilroi, looking him full in the face; but yet he did so, and Samuel Gray, who was standing next Langford, with his hands in his bosom, fell lifeless. The rest fired slowly and in succession on the people, who were dispersing. One aimed deliberately at a boy, who was running in a zigzag line for safety. Montgomery then pushed at Palmes to stab him; on which, the latter knocked his gun out of his hand, and levelling a blow at him ^{1770.} hit Preston. Three persons were killed, among them ^{March.} Attucks the mulatto; eight were wounded, two of them mortally. Of all the eleven, not more than one had had any share in the disturbance.

So infuriated were the soldiers that, when the men returned to take up the dead, they prepared to fire again, but were checked by Preston, while the twenty-ninth regiment appeared under arms in King Street. "This is our time," cried soldiers of the fourteenth; and dogs were never seen more greedy for their prey.

The bells rung in all the churches; the town drums beat. "To arms! to arms!" was the cry. All the sons of Boston came forth, nearly distracted by the sight of the dead bodies, and of the blood, which ran plentifully in the street, and was imprinted in all directions by foot-tracks on the snow. "Our hearts," says Warren, "beat to arms, almost resolved by one stroke to avenge the death of our slaughtered brethren;" but they stood self-possessed, demanding justice according to the law. "Did you not know that you should not have fired without the order of a civil magistrate?" asked Hutchinson, on meeting Preston. "I did it," answered Preston, "to save my men."

The people would not be pacified or retire till the regiment was confined to the guard-room and the barracks; and Hutchinson himself gave assurances that instant inquiries should be made by the county magistrates. One hundred persons remained to keep watch on the examina-

tion, which lasted till three hours after midnight. A warrant was issued against Preston, who surrendered himself to the sheriff; and the soldiers of his party were delivered up and committed to prison.

The next morning, the selectmen of the town and the justices of the county spoke with Hutchinson at the council chamber. "The inhabitants," said the former, "will presently meet, and cannot be appeased while the troops are among them." Quincy, of Braintree, on behalf of the justices, pointed out the danger of "the most terrible consequences." "I have no power to remove the troops," said Hutchinson, "nor to direct where they shall be placed;" but Dalrymple and Carr, the commanding officers, attended, on his invitation, in council, and the subject was "largely discussed."

At eleven, the town-meeting was opened in Faneuil Hall with prayer by Cooper; then Samuel Adams and fourteen others, among them Hancock and Molineux, were chosen to proceed to the council chamber, where in the name of the town they delivered this message: "The inhabitants and soldiery can no longer live together in safety; nothing can restore peace and prevent further carnage but the immediate removal of the troops."

Hutchinson desired to parley with them. "The people," they answered, "not only in this town, but in all the neighboring towns, are determined that the troops shall be removed." "An attack on the king's troops," ^{1770.} replied Hutchinson, "would be high treason, and ^{March.} every man concerned would forfeit his life and estate." The committee, unmoved, recalled his attention to their peremptory demand, and withdrew.

My readers will remember that the instructions from the king, which placed the army above the civil power in America, contained a clause that, where there was no officer of the rank of brigadier, the governor of the colony or province might give the word. Dalrymple accordingly offered to obey the lieutenant-governor, who, on his part, neither dared to bid the troops remain nor order their withdrawal. So the opinion which had been expressed by Bernard during

the last summer, and at the time had been approved by Dalrymple, was called to mind as the rule for the occasion.

1770.
March. The lieutenant-governor acquainted the town's committee that the twenty-ninth regiment, which was particularly concerned in the late differences, should without delay be placed at the castle, and the fourteenth only be retained in town under efficient restraint. Saying this, he adjourned the council to the afternoon.

As Faneuil Hall could not hold the throng from the surrounding country, the town had adjourned to the Old South meeting-house. The street between the state house and that church was filled with people. "Make way for the committee!" was the shout of the multitude, as Adams came out from the council chamber, and baring his head, which was already becoming gray, moved through their ranks, inspiring confidence.

To the people who crowded even the gallery and aisles of the spacious meeting-house, he made his report, and pronounced the answer insufficient. On ordinary occasions he seemed like ordinary men; but, in moments of crisis, he rose naturally and unaffectedly to the highest dignity, and spoke as if the hopes of humanity hung on his words. The town, after deliberation, raised a new and smaller committee, composed of Samuel Adams, Hancock, Molineux, William Phillips, Warren, Henshaw, and Pemberton, to bear their final message. They found the lieutenant-governor surrounded by the council and by the highest officers of the British army and navy on the station.

Hutchinson had done all he could to get Samuel Adams shipped to England as a traitor; at this most important moment in their lives, the patriot and the courtier stood face to face. "It is the unanimous opinion of the meeting," said Samuel Adams to him, in the name of all, "that the reply made to the vote of the inhabitants in the morning is unsatisfactory; nothing less will satisfy than a total and immediate removal of all the troops." "The troops are not subject to my authority," repeated Hutchinson; "I have no power to remove them." Stretching forth his arm, which slightly shook as if "his frame trembled at the

energy of his soul," in tones not loud, but clear and distinctly audible, Adams rejoined: "If you have power to remove one regiment, you have power to remove both. It is at your peril if you do not. The meeting is composed of three thousand people. They are become very impatient. A thousand men are already arrived from the neighborhood, and the country is in general motion. Night is approaching; an immediate answer is expected." As he spoke, he gazed intently on his irresolute adversary. "Then," said Adams, who not long afterwards described the scene, "at the appearance of the determined citizens, peremptorily demanding the redress of grievances, I observed ^{1770.} his knees to tremble; I saw his face grow pale; and ^{March.} I enjoyed the sight." As the committee left the council chamber, Hutchinson's memory was going back in his reverie to the days of the Revolution of 1688. He saw, in his mind, Andros seized and imprisoned, and the people instituting a new government; he reflected that the citizens of Boston and the country about it were become four times as numerous as in those days, and their "spirit full as high." He fancied them insurgent, and himself their captive; and he turned to the council for advice. "It is not such people as formerly pulled down your house, who conduct the present measures," said Tyler; "but they are people of the best characters among us, men of estates, and men of religion. It is impossible for the troops to remain in town; there will be ten thousand men to effect their removal, be the consequence what it may."

Russell, of Charlestown, and Dexter, of Dedham, a man of superior ability, confirmed what was said. They spoke truly: men were ready to come from the hills of Worcester county and from the vale of the Connecticut. The council unanimously advised sending the troops to the castle forthwith. "It is impossible for me," said Dalrymple again and again, weakening the force of what he said by frequently repeating it, "to go any further lengths in this matter. The information given of the intended rebellion is a sufficient reason against the removal of his majesty's forces."

"You have asked the advice of the council," said Gray to the lieutenant-governor; "they have given it unanimously; you are bound to conform to it." "If mischief should come, by means of your not joining with us," pursued Irving, "the whole blame must fall upon you; but if you join with us, and the commanding officer after that should refuse to remove the troops, the blame will then be at his door." Hutchinson finally agreed with the council, and Dalrymple assured him of his obedience. The town's committee, being informed of this decision, left the state house to make their welcome report to the meeting.

^{1770.}
^{March.} The inhabitants listened with the highest satisfaction; but, ever vigilant, they provided measures for keeping up a strong military watch of their own, until the regiments should leave the town.

It was a humiliation to the officers and soldiers to witness the public funeral of the victims of the fifth of March; but they complained most of the watch set over them. The colonel of the town militia had, however, taken good legal advice, and showed the old province law under which he acted; and the justices of the peace in their turns attended every night during its continuance. The British officers gnashed their teeth at the contempt into which they had been brought. The troops came to overawe the people, and maintain the laws; and they were sent as law-breakers to a prison rather than to a garrison. "There," said Edmund Burke, "was an end of the spirited way we took, when the question was whether Great Britain should or should not govern America."

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENTS FAIL. HILLSBOROUGH'S
ADMINISTRATION OF THE COLONIES CONTINUED.

MARCH—JULY, 1770.

AT the cry of innocent blood shed by the soldiery, the continent heaved like a troubled ocean. But, in Boston, the removal of the troops smoothed the way for conciliation. The town was resolved on bringing the party who had fired to trial, that the supremacy of the civil authority might be vindicated; at the same time, it wished to the prisoners every opportunity of defence; and with the very general approbation of the people, and urged by Samuel Adams and his associates, John Adams and the younger Quincy consented to be retained as their counsel.

1770.
March.

It was for England to remove the cause of the strife. In the house of lords, Chatham, affirming, as he had done four years before, the subordination of the colonies and the right of parliament to bind their trade and industry, disclaimed the American policy adopted by his former colleagues when he himself was nominally the minister. "The idea of drawing money from the Americans by taxes was ill-judged; trade is your object with them. They should be encouraged; those millions are the industrious hive who keep you employed;" and he invited the entire repeal of the revenue act of Charles Townshend.

On the evening of the fifth of March, in the house of commons, Lord North founded a motion for a partial relief; not on the petitions of America, because they were marked by a denial of the right, but on one from merchants and

traders of London. "The subject," said he, "is of the highest importance. The combinations and associations of the Americans for the temporary interruption of trade have already been called unwarrantable in an address of this house; I will call them insolent and illegal. The duties upon paper, glass, and painters' colors, bear upon the manufacturers of this country, are uncommercial, and ought to

be taken off. It was my intention to have extended
^{1770.}
^{March.} the proposal to the removal of the other duties; but the Americans have not deserved indulgence. The preamble to the act and the duty on tea must be retained, as a mark of the supremacy of parliament and the efficient declaration of its right to govern the colonies.

"I saw nothing unjust, uncommercial, or unreasonable in the stamp act; nothing but what Great Britain might fairly demand of her colonies; America took flame and united against it. If there had been a permanence of ministers, if there had been a union of Englishmen in the cause of England, that act would at this moment have been subsisting. I was much inclined to yield to the wishes of many, who desire that the duty upon tea should be repealed. But tea is not a manufacture of Great Britain. Of all commodities, it is the properest for taxation. The duty is an external tax, such as the Americans have admitted the right of parliament to impose. It is one of the best of all the port duties. When the revenue is well established, it will go a great way towards giving additional support to our government and judicatures in America. If we are to run after America in search of reconciliation, I do not know a single act of parliament that will remain. Are we to make concessions to these people, because they have the hardihood to set us at defiance? No authority was ever confirmed by the concession of any point of honor or of right. Shall I give up my right? No, not in the first step. I will strengthen my water-guard: I will do any thing before I will buy off contraband trade. New York has kept strictly to its agreements; but the infractions of them by the people of Boston show that they will soon come to nothing. The necessities of the colonies and their want of

union will open trade. There is an impossibility of their manufacturing to supply any considerable part of their wants. If they should attempt it and be likely to succeed, it is in our power to make laws, and so to check the manufactures in America for many years to come. This method I will try, before I will give up my right. Gentlemen talk of the harsh measures pursued by this country towards America. Every session has produced some ^{1770.} mark of affection towards her; bounty after bounty; ^{March.} importation of flax; permission to export rice. We are treated as hard task-masters, because we will not give up an undoubted right of the legislature."

Thomas Pownall moved the repeal of the duty on tea also. The house of commons, like Lord North in his heart, was disposed to do the work of conciliation thoroughly. It was known that Grenville would not give an adverse vote. "It is the sober opinion of the Americans," said Mackay, fresh from the military command in Boston, "that you have no right to tax them. When beaten out of every argument, they adduce the authority of the first man of the law, and the first man of the state." Grenville assumed fully the responsibility of the stamp act; but he revealed to the house that taxing America had been the wish of the king. On the present occasion, had the king's friends remained neutral, the duty on tea would have been repealed; with all their exertions, in a full house, the majority for retaining it was but sixty-two. Lord North seemed hardly satisfied with his success; and reserved to himself liberty to accede to the repeal, on some agreement with the East India company; with fatal weakness, delaying the concession which his good sense and humanity approved.

The decision came from the king, who was the master of the house of commons, and the soul of the ministry, busying himself even with the details of affairs. He had many qualities that become a sovereign: temperance, regularity, and industry; decorous manners and unaffected piety; frugality in his personal expenses, so that his pleasures laid no burden on his people; a moderation which made him averse to wars of conquest; courage, which dared to assume re-

sponsibility, and could even contemplate death serenely ; a fortitude that rose with adversity.

But he was bigoted, morbidly impatient of being ruled, and incapable of reconciling the demands of civilization with the establishments of the past. He was the great founder and head of the new tory or conservative party, which had become dominant through his support. To that cause all his instincts were blindly true ; so that, throughout his career, he was consistent in zeal for authority, hatred of reform, and antipathy to philosophical freedom and to popular power. On these points, he was inflexibly obstinate and undisguised ; nor could he be justly censured for dissimulation, except for that disingenuousness which studies

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March.

the secret characters of men, in order to use them as its instruments. No one could tell whether the king really liked him. He could flatter, cajole, and humor, or frown and threaten ; he could conceal the sense of injuries and forget good service ; bribe the corrupt by favors, or terrify deserters by punishment. In bestowing rewards, it was his rule to make none but revocable grants ; and he required of his friends an implicit obedience. He was willing to govern through parliament, yet was ready to stand by his ministers, even in a minority ; and he was sure that one day the government must disregard majorities.

With a strong physical frame, he had a nervous susceptibility which made him rapid in his utterance ; and so impatient of contradiction that he never could bear the presence of a minister who resolutely differed from him, and was easily thrown into a state of excitement bordering upon madness. Anger, which changed Chatham into a seer, pouring floods of light upon his mind and quickening his discernment, served only to cloud or disturb the mind of George III., so that he could not hide his thoughts from those about him, and, if using the pen, could neither spell correctly nor write coherently. Hence the proud, unbending Grenville was his aversion ; and his years with the compliant Lord North, though full of public disasters, were the happiest of his life. Conscious of his devotion to the cause of legitimate authority, and viewing with complacency his own

correctness of morals, he identified himself with the cause which he venerated. His eye did not rest on colonial liberty or a people struggling towards more intelligence and happiness; the crown was to him the emblem of all rightful power. He had that worst quality of evil, that he, as it were, adored himself; and regarded opposition to his designs as an offence against integrity and patriotism. He thought no exertions too great to crush the spirit of revolution, and no sufferings or punishment too cruel or too severe for rebels.

1770.
March.

The chaotic state of parties in England at this period of transition from their ancient forms favored the king's purposes. The liberal branch of the aristocracy had accomplished the duty it had undertaken, and had not yet discovered the service on which humanity would employ it next. After the Revolution of 1688, the defeated cause, whose followers clung to the traditions of the middle age, had its strongest support in the inhabitants of the rural districts. Through them only could the tory, who retained the implicit reverence for monarchy and for the church, hope to succeed against the friends of the new political system; and the more frequent and the more complete the opportunity of the appeal, the greater was his prospect of a victory. The tory faction, therefore, addressed itself to the sympathies of the common people. It would have annual parliaments; it would have democratic supremacy; it led the van of patriotism, and its speeches even savored of republicanism. The party of the past sought to recover office by making an alliance with the party of the future. The whigs for half a century stood between the increase of monarchical power on the one hand, and the hereditary affection of the country for the old social hierarchy on the other; fighting strenuously alike against the prerogative and against the people. But time, which is the greatest of all innovators, had changed their political relations. The present king found the whig aristocracy divided; and he readily formed a coalition with that part of it which respected the established forms more than the principles of the revolution. No combination could rise against this

organized conservatism of England, but one which should insist on a nearer harmony between those principles and the forms of the constitution. As yet Rockingham and his adherents avowed the same political creed with Bedford, and were less friendly to reform than Grenville. When Burke and Wedderburn were allies, the opposition wore the aspect of a selfish struggle of the discontented for place; and the whig aristocracy, continuing its war against the people as well as against the king, fell more and more into disrepute. A few commoners, Chatham and Shelburne and Stanhope among the peers, cried out for parliamentary reform; they were opposed by the members of the great whig connection, who may have had a good-will to advocate public liberty, but, like hounds which have lost the scent, wandered this way and that, ignorant in what direction to go, and too haughty to be taught by men of humble birth.

The king, therefore, had nothing to fear from an ^{1770.} ^{March.} opposition. The changing politicians were eager to join his standard; and, while the great seal was for a time put in commission, Thurlow superseded the liberal Dunning.

The new solicitor-general, whose "majestic sense" and capacity were greatly overrated, had a coarse nature and a bad heart. The mother of his children was a kept mistress; he himself was strangely profane, and unmindful of social decorum. His manners were so rough that he enjoyed the credit of being fearless of the aristocracy; but no man was more subservient to their interests. Lord North governed himself on questions of law by his advice; and Thurlow proved the evil genius of that minister and of England. Towards America no man was more unrelenting.

The cardinal policy of New York was the security and development of colonial liberty through an American constitution, based upon a union of the colonies in one general congress, without dissolving the connection with Great Britain. "They are jealous of the scheme in England," said William Smith; "yet they will find the spirit of democracy so persevering, that they will be under the necessity of coming into it." Under the pretext of framing

common regulations of trade with the Indians, the assembly of New York at its present session, with the concurrence of its lieutenant-governor, had, in the previous December, invited each province to elect representatives to a body which should exercise legislative power for them all. It was a great step towards the American union. Virginia, when she heard of the proposal, directed Patrick Henry and Richard Bland to appear as her representatives. But the British ministry, who saw in union the certain forerunner of independence, defeated the scheme.

Plans were revived for admitting representatives from the American colonies into the British house of commons; but they attracted little attention. The well-founded petition of Massachusetts against Bernard was dismissed by the privy council, as "groundless, vexatious, and scandalous." At the same time, his interference had involved his successor in needless embarrassments. By his advice, Hutchinson, against his own judgment, convened the legislature at Cambridge. For this he could give no plausible reason. To the assembly he excused himself, by saying that his instructions had "made it necessary;" but he produced no such instructions: the plea, moreover, was false, for Hillsborough had left him discretionary power. Popular liberty was all the time gaining ground. The last public act of Grenville's life was a step towards representative reform by establishing a more impartial method of deciding controverted elections. It was perhaps the most honorable trophy of his long career.

On the ninth of April, four days after Grenville had carried his bill triumphantly to the house of lords, one more attempt was made to conciliate America; and Trecothick, supported by Beckford and Lord Beauchamp, by Dowdeswell, Conway, Dunning, and Sir George Saville, proposed the repeal of the duty on tea. The king was indignant at this "debate in the teeth of a standing order," on a proposal which had already been voted down. "I wish to conciliate the Americans, and to restore harmony to the two countries," said Lord North; "but I will never be intimidated by the threats nor com-

1770.
April.

pelled by the combinations of the colonies to make unreasonable or impolitic concessions." So the next order of the day was called for by a vote of eighty to fifty-two.

The news of the Boston massacre reached England at a time when the legislature of Massachusetts was solemnly declaring that keeping a standing army in the colony, in a time of peace, without its consent, was against law. "God forbid," said Grenville, in the house of commons, on the twenty-sixth of April, "we should send soldiers to act without civil authority." "Let us have no more angry votes against the people of America," cried Lord Beauchamp. "The officers," observed Barré, "agreed in sending the soldiers to Castle William; what minister will dare to send them back to Boston?" "The very idea of a military establishment in America," cried William Burke, "is wrong." In a different spirit, Lord Barrington proposed to change the too democratical charter of Massachusetts.

The American question became more and more complicated with the history and the hopes of freedom in England. The country was suffering from the excess of aristocracy; Burke prescribed more aristocracy as the cure.

1770.
May. But English liberty was like the lofty forest tree which begins to decay at its top: it needed fresh soil round its root. Unable to obtain from Rockingham the acceptance of his far reaching views, Chatham stepped forward as the champion of the people. "I pledge myself to their cause," said he in the house of lords, on the first of May, "for it is the cause of truth and justice." "I trust the people of this country," said Camden, "will renew their claims to true and free and equal representation, as their inherent and unalienable right." Shelburne insisted that Lord North, for his agency with regard to the Middlesex elections, deserved impeachment. Stanhope pledged his life to the cause of liberty.

On the ninth of May, Edmund Burke, acting in conjunction with Grenville, brought the affairs of America before the house of commons, in resolutions condemning the contradictory measures that had been pursued since his friends had been dismissed, but avoiding any indication of the

policy which the party in power should adopt. Burke was supported by Wedderburn, who said: "Nothing offers itself but despair. Lord Hillsborough is unfit for his office. The nation suffers by his continuance. The people have a right to say they will not be under the authority of the sword. If you drive men to desperation, they will act upon the principles of human nature. At the close of the last reign, you had the continent of America in one compact country. Not quite ten years have passed over, and you have lost those provinces by domestic mismanagement. All America, the fruit of so many years' settlement, nurtured by this country at the price of so much blood and treasure, is lost to the crown of Great Britain in the reign of George III." Lord North, in his reply, declared himself the only man of the ministry who was decidedly for the repeal of the revenue act of 1767; defended the partial repeal, because he wished to see the American associations defeat themselves; questioned the veracity of Wedderburn; and treated the ill-cemented coalition as having no plan beyond the removal of the present ministers. "God forgive the noble lord for the idea of there being a plan to remove him," retorted Wedderburn; "I know no man of honor and respectability who would undertake to do the duties of the situation."

1770.
May.

The resolutions, which only censured the past, were defeated by a vote of more than two to one. When they were brought forward in the house of lords, Chatham would not attend the debate, but placed himself before the nation as the guide to "a more full and equal representation." His patriotism was fruitless for that generation: light on representative reform was not to break on England from the house of lords. But America was an essential part of the English world. To New England, the men of the days preceding the ill-starred commonwealth had borne their ideas of government, and there the system of an adequate, uncorrupt, and equal representation preserved its undimmed lustre. There the people annually came together in their towns, annually elected their representatives, and gave them instructions, which were sacredly obeyed.

The instructions which the town of Boston, adopting the language of the younger Quincy, this year addressed to the faithful representatives of its choice, cited the journals of the house of lords in evidence of "a desperate plan of imperial despotism," which was to be resisted, if necessary, "even unto the uttermost;" and therefore recommended martial virtues, and the lasting union of the colonies.

Of this document, Hutchinson made an effective use; and its reception contributed to that new set of measures, which hastened American independence by seeking to crush its spirit. England assumed a design for a general revolt, when there only existed a desire to resist "innovations;" but the inference was a just one, that the opinions of the house of lords and those of the town of Boston were irreconcilable.

Hutchinson called the newly elected legislature, as he had done the last, to Cambridge. "Not the least shadow of necessity," said the house in its remonstrance, "exists

for it. Prerogative is a discretionary power vested
 1770
 June. in the king only for the good of the subject."

Hutchinson had overacted his part; and found himself embarrassed by his own arbitrary act, for which he dared not assign the true reason, and could not assign a good one. The house censured his conduct by a vote of ninety-six against six, and refused to proceed to any other business than that of organizing the government. Thus Hutchinson opened his administration with a foolish strife, wantonly provoked, and promising no advantage whatever to British authority.

Meantime a most elaborate paper on the disorders in America was laid before the British council. Long and earnest deliberations ensued. On the one side, Hillsborough pressed impetuously for the execution of his plans, as the only means of arresting the progress of America towards independence; while Lord North, with better judgment, was willing to wait, being persuaded that the associations for non-importation would fall asunder of themselves.

July. Canada, Carolina, and Georgia, and even Maryland and Virginia, had increased their importations; New

England and Pennsylvania had imported nearly one half as much as usual ; New York alone had been true to its engagement, and its imports had fallen off more than five parts in six. It was impatient of a system of voluntary renunciation which was so unequally kept. Merchants of New York, therefore, consulted those of Philadelphia on a general importation of all articles except of tea ; the Philadelphians favored the proposition, till a letter arrived from Franklin, urging them to persevere on their original plan. Sears and Macdougall in New York resisted concession ; but men went from ward to ward to take the opinions of the people, and it was found that eleven hundred and eighty against three hundred were disposed to confine the restriction to tea alone. " If any merchant should presume to break through the non-importation agreement, except in concert with the several provinces, the goods imported should be burnt as soon as landed ; and I am ready to peril my life in the attempt." Such were the words of Isaac Sears, at a public meeting of the resolute patriots. The decision was on the balance ; an appeal was again taken to the people ; and, as the majority favored resuming importations, the July packet, which had been detained for a few days, sailed before the middle of the month, with orders for all kinds of merchandise excepting tea. " Send us your old liberty pole, as you can have no further use for it," said the Philadelphians. The students at Princeton, one of whom was James Madison, appearing in their black gowns, and the bell toll-
1770.
July.
ing, burned the New York merchants' letter in the college yard. Boston tore it into pieces and threw it to the winds. South Carolina, whose patriots had just raised the statue to Chatham, read it with disdainful anger. But there was no help ; so far Lord North had reasoned correctly ; the non-importation agreement had been enforced by New York alone, and now trade between America and England was open in every thing but TEA.

CHAPTER XLV.

MARTIAL LAW INTRODUCED INTO MASSACHUSETTS. HILLSBOROUGH'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE COLONIES CONTINUED.

JULY—OCTOBER, 1770.

1770. GREAT joy prevailed in London at the news that America was resuming commercial intercourse. The occasion invited corresponding concessions, which Lord North would have willingly made; but the majority of his colleagues had been led to consider "the state of the colony of Massachusetts Bay more desperate than ever;" and, on the sixth of July, the king in council gave an order, making a beginning of martial law within that province, and preparing the way for closing the port of Boston.

Hutchinson in July once more summoned the legislature to Cambridge, for which he continued to offer no other excuse than the king's will. The highest advocate for the divine right of regal power had never gone so far as to claim that it might be used at caprice, to inflict wanton injury. There was no precedent for the measure but during the worst of times in England, or in France, where a parliament had sometimes been worried into submission by exile.

The assembly expressed in the strongest terms the superiority of the legislative body to royal instructions; and, in answer to the old question of what is to be done upon the abusive exercise of the prerogative, they went back to the principles of the revolution, and the words of Locke: "In this as in all other cases, where they have no judge on earth, the people have no remedy but to appeal to Heaven." They drew a distinction between the king and his servants; and attributed to "wicked ministers" the encroachments on their liberty, as well as "the impudent mandate" to one assembly "to rescind an excellent resolution of a former one."

On the third of August, Hutchinson communicated to the house that the instruction to rescind, which they had called an impudent mandate, was an order from the king himself, whose "immediate attention," he assured them, they would not be able "to escape." In this manner, the royal dignity and character were placed on trial before a colonial assembly, and monarchy itself was exposed to contempt.

The session had passed without the transaction of any business, when, near the evening of the eighth of September, Hutchinson received the order which had been adopted in July by the king in council, and which marks the beginning of a system of measures having for their object the prevention of American independence. The harbor of Boston was made "the rendezvous of all ships stationed in North America," and the fortress which commanded it was to be delivered up to such officer as Gage should appoint, to be garrisoned by regular troops, and put into a respectable state of defence. But the charter of Massachusetts reserved to its governor the command of its militia and of its forts; the castle had been built and repaired and garrisoned by the colony, at its own expense; to take the command from the civil governor, and bestow it on the commander in chief, was a violation of the charter, as well as of immemorial usage. For a day, Hutchinson hesitated; but, on second thoughts, he resolved to obey the order. Enjoining secrecy on the members of the council upon their oaths, he divulged to them his instructions. The council was struck with amazement; for the town was very quiet, and the measure seemed a wanton provocation. "Does not the charter," they demanded of him, "place the command of the castle in the governor?" After a secret discussion, which lasted for two hours, he entered his carriage which was waiting at the door, hurried to the Neck, stole into a barge, and was rowed to the castle. The officers and garrison were discharged without a moment's warning; he then delivered up the keys to Dalrymple, and in the twilight retired to his country house at Milton. But he was in dread of being waylaid; and the next day fled for safety to the

1770.
Aug.

Sept.

castle, as he and Bernard had done five years before, and remained there every night for the rest of the week. The breach of the Massachusetts charter by the delivery of the castle was a commencement of civil war; yet the last appeal was not to be made without some prospect of success.

"As a citizen of the world," cried Turgot, "I see with joy the approach of an event which, more than all the books of the philosophers, will dissipate the puerile and sanguinary phantom of a pretended exclusive commerce. I speak of the separation of the British colonies from their metropolis, which will soon be followed by that of all America from Europe. Then, and not till then, will the discovery of that part of the world become for us truly useful. Then it will multiply our enjoyments far more abundantly than when we bought them by torrents of blood."

1770. To prevent that separation, Hillsborough thought
Oct. it necessary, without loss of time, to change "the constitution of the Massachusetts Bay." Conspiring with fierce zeal against the liberties of his native country, Hutchinson advised not a mere change of the mode of electing the council, but "a bill for the vacating or disannulling the charter in all its parts, and leaving it to the king to settle the government by a royal commission." As Hillsborough and the king seemed content with obtaining the appointment of the council, Hutchinson forwarded lists from which the royal councillors were to be named. "If the kingdom," said he, "is united and resolved, I have but very little doubt we shall be as tame as lambs;" and he presented distinctly the option, either to lay aside taxation as inexpedient or to deal with the inhabitants as being "in a state of revolt." After that should be decided, he proposed to starve the colony into obedience, by narrowing its commerce and excluding it from the fisheries. If this should fail, the military might be authorized to act by their own authority, free from the restraints of civil government. Boston, he thought, should be insulated from the rest of the colony, and specially dealt with; and he recommended the example of Rome, which, on one occasion, seized the leading men in rebellious colonies, and detained them in the metropolis as hostages. An

act of parliament curtailing Massachusetts of all the land east of the Penobscot was a supplementary proposition.

Less occasion never existed for martial rule than at Boston. At the ensuing trial of Preston, every indulgence was shown him by the citizens. Auchmuty, his counsel, had the assistance of John Adams and Quincy. The prosecution was conducted with languor and inefficiency, the defence with consummate ability; important witnesses were sent out of the way; the judges were the partisans of the prisoner; and selected talesmen were put upon the jury. As the slaughter of the citizens took place at night, it was not difficult to raise a plausible doubt whether it was Preston or some other person who had given the command to the soldiers to fire; and on that doubt a verdict of acquittal was obtained. Quincy, who had taken part in the defence, afterwards denied the propriety of the verdict. The public acquiesced, but was offended at the manifest want of uprightness in the court. "The firmness of the judges" was vaunted, to obtain for them all much larger salaries, to be paid directly by the crown. The chief justice, who was a manufacturer, wanted, moreover, money in the shape of pay for some refuse cannon-balls, which the province had refused to buy.

The trial of the eight soldiers who were with Preston followed a few weeks after. Two of them were proved to have fired, and were found guilty of manslaughter. 1770.
Oct. As seven guns only were fired, the jury acquitted the other six; choosing that five guilty should escape rather than one innocent be convicted.

In selecting an agent to lay their complaints before the king, Samuel Adams and about one third of the house, following the advice of Joseph Reed, of Philadelphia, gave their suffrages for Arthur Lee; but, by the better influence of Bowdoin and of the minister Cooper, Benjamin Franklin, greatest of the sons of Boston, was elected. Arthur Lee was then chosen as his substitute. Franklin held under the crown the office of deputy postmaster-general for America, and his son was a royal governor; but his mind reasoned on politics with the same freedom from prejudice which

marked his investigations into the laws of nature; and, from questioning the right of parliament to tax the colonies externally, he had been led to the conviction that the colonies were originally constituted distinct states; that the legislative authority of parliament over them was a usurpation; that parliament was not supreme, nor the American assemblies subordinate; that the American assemblies, with the king, had a true legislative authority, which ought not to be limited by his parliament in Great Britain; and that the keeping up a standing army in America, without the consent of the colonial assemblies, had no sanction in the constitution. From the knowledge that these were his principles, and from confidence in his integrity and ability, the house readily confided the redress of their grievances to his care.

1770.
Oct.

At the time when Franklin was thus called by the people of Massachusetts to be their mediator with the mother country, he was sixty-four years of age. Experience had ripened his judgment; and he still retained the vigor of mind, the benignity of manner, genial humor, and comprehensive observation, which made him everywhere welcome. The difficult service demanded of him by the colony of his nativity was attended by embarrassments of all kinds. Hutchinson reminded Hillsborough not to recognise him as an agent, and negatived all appropriations for his salary.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE ORIGIN OF TENNESSEE. HILLSBOROUGH'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE COLONIES CONTINUED.

OCTOBER, 1770—JUNE, 1771.

No one had more vividly discerned the capacity of the Mississippi valley, not only to sustain commonwealths, but to connect them with the world by commerce, than Franklin; and when the ministers would have re-
jected the Fort Stanwix treaty, which conveyed from the Six Nations an inchoate title to an immense territory south-west of the Ohio, his influence secured its ratification, by organizing a powerful company to plant a province in that part of the country which lay between the Alleghanies and a line drawn from the Cumberland Gap to the mouth of the Scioto.

1770.
Oct.

Virginia resisted the proposed limitation of her jurisdiction, as fatal to her interests; entreating an extension of her borders westward to the Tennessee River. It would be tedious to rehearse the pleas of the colony; the hesitations of Hillsborough; the solicitations of Botetourt; the adverse representations of the board of trade; the meetings of agents with the beloved men of the Cherokees. On the seventeenth of October, two days after the death of Botetourt, a treaty, conforming to the decision of the British cabinet, was made at Lochaber, confining the Ancient Dominion on the north-west to the mouth of the Kanawha, while on the south it extended only to within six miles of the Holston River. The Cherokees would willingly have ceded more land; and, when in the following year the line was run by Donelson for Virginia, their chief consented that it should cross from the Holston to the Louisa, or Kentucky River, and follow it to the Ohio. But the

change was disapproved in England ; so that the west, little encumbered by valid titles, was reserved for the self-directed emigrant.

The people of Virginia and others were exploring and marking the richest lands, not only on the Redstone and other waters of the Monongahela, but along the Ohio, as low as the Little Kanawha ; and with each year were getting further and further down the river. When Washington, in 1770, having established for the soldiers and officers who had served with him in the French war their right to two hundred thousand acres in the western valley, went to select suitable tracts, he was obliged to descend to the Great Kanawha. As he floated in a canoe down the Ohio, whose banks he found enlivened by innumerable turkeys and other wild fowl, with deer browsing on the shore or stepping down to the water's edge to drink, no good land escaped his eye. Where the soil and growth of timber were most inviting, he would walk through the woods, and set his mark on a maple or elm, a hoop-wood or ash, as the corner of a soldier's survey ; for he watched over the interests of his old associates in arms as sacredly as if he had been their trustee, and never ceased his care for them, till by his exertions, and "by these alone," he had secured to each one of them, or, if they were dead, to their heirs, the full bounty that had been promised. His journey to the wilderness was not without its pleasures ; he amused himself with the sports of the forest, or observing new kinds of water-fowl, or taking the girth of the largest trees, one of which, at a yard from the ground, measured within two inches of five-and-forty feet. His fame had gone before him ; the red men received him in council with public honors. Nor did he turn homewards without inquiring of Nicholson, an Indian interpreter, and of Connolly, an intelligent forester, the character of the country further west. From these eye-witnesses, he received glowing accounts of the climate, soil, good streams, and plentiful game of the Cumberland valley, and there he was persuaded a new and most desirable government might be established.

1770.
Nov.

Daniel Boone was then exploring the land of promise. Of forty adventurers who from the Clinch River plunged into the west under the lead of James Knox, and became renowned as "the Long Hunters," some found their way down the Cumberland to the limestone bluff where Nashville stands, and where the luxuriant, gently undulating fields, covered with groves of beech and walnut, were in the possession of countless buffaloes, whose bellowings resounded from hill and forest.

Sometimes trappers and restless emigrants, boldest of their class, took the risk of crossing the country from Carolina to the Mississippi; but, of those who perished, no tradition preserves the names. Others, following the natural highways of the west, descended from Pittsburg, and from Red Stone to Fort Natchez. The pilot who conducted the party, of which Samuel Wells and John MacIntire were the chiefs, was so attracted by the lands round the fort that he promised to remove there in the spring with his wife and family, and believed a hundred families from North Carolina would follow.

This year, James Robertson, from the home of the regulators in North Carolina, a poor and unlettered forester, of humble birth, but of inborn nobleness of soul, cultivated maize on the Watauga. The frame of the heroic planter was robust, his constitution hardy; he trod the soil as if he were its rightful lord. Intrepid, loving virtue for its own sake, and emulous of honorable fame, he had self-possession, quickness of discernment, and a sound judgment. Wherever he was thrown, on whatever he was engaged, he knew how to use all the means within his reach, whether small or great, to their proper end, seeing at a glance their latent capacities, and devising the simplest and surest way to bring them forth; and so he became the greatest benefactor of the early settlers of Tennessee.

He was followed to the west by men from the same province with himself, where the courts of law offered no redress against extortion. At the inferior courts, the justices, who themselves were implicated in the pilfering of public money, named the juries. The sheriff and re-

ceivers of taxes were in arrears for near seventy thousand pounds, which they had extorted from the people, and of which more than two thirds had been irretrievably embezzled. In the northern part of the colony, where the ownership of the soil had been reserved to one of the old proprietaries, there was no land-office; so that the people who were attracted by the excellence of the land could not obtain freeholds. Every art was employed to increase the expenses of suits at law; and, as some of the people wreaked their vengeance in acts of folly and madness, they were misrepresented as enemies to the constitution; and the oppressor acquired the protection which was due to the oppressed. In March, 1770, one of the associate justices reported that they could not enforce the payment of taxes. At the court in September, the regulators appeared in numbers. "We are come down," they said, "with the design to have justice done;" they would have business proceed, but with no attorney except the king's; and, finding that it had been resolved not to try their causes, some of them pursued Fanning and another lawyer, and beat them with cowskin whips.

1770.
Dec.

The assembly, which convened in December, at Newbern, was chosen under a state of alarm and vague apprehension. Tryon had secured Fanning a seat, by chartering the town of Hillsborough as a borough; but the county of Orange, with great unanimity, selected Herman Husband as its representative. The rustic patriot possessed a good reputation and a considerable estate, and was charged with no illegal act whatever; yet he was voted a disturber of the public peace; on the twentieth of December, was expelled the house; and against the opinion of the council, and without evidence that he had been even an accessory to the riots at Hillsborough, Tryon seized him under a warrant concerted with the chief justice, and kept him in prison without bail.

The Presbyterian party was the strongest in the house: to conciliate its power, a law was passed for endowing Queen's College in the town of Charlotte, Mecklenburg county; a deceitful act of tolerance, which was sure to be

annulled by the king in council. But the great object of Tryon was the riot act, by which it was declared a felony for more than ten men to remain assembled after being required to disperse. For a riot committed before or after the publication of the act, persons might be tried in any superior court, no matter how distant from their homes; and if within sixty days they did not make their appearance, whether with or without notice, they were to be proclaimed outlaws, and to forfeit their lives with all their property. The governor also sent letters into the neighboring counties, to ascertain how many would volunteer to serve in a military expedition against "the rebels;" but the assembly, by withholding grants of money, set itself against civil war.

1770.
Dec.

Tryon had won at the colonial office the reputation of being the ablest governor in the thirteen colonies: the death of Botetourt opened the way for his transfer to New York; the Earl of Dunmore, a needy Scottish peer of the house of Murray, passionate, narrow, and unscrupulous in his rapacity, being promoted to the more desirable one of Virginia.

Dunmore came over to amass a fortune, and, in his passion for sudden gain, cared as little for the policy of the ministers, or his instructions from the crown, as for the rights of property, the respective limits of jurisdiction of the colonies, or their civil and political privileges. To get money for himself was his whole system. He did not remain in New York long enough to weary the legislature into a spirited resistance. Its members remained steadfast in their purpose to connect loyalty with their regard for American liberty; and, adopting the nomination made by Schuyler a year before, they unanimously elected Edmund Burke, for whom his own country had no employment, their agent in England, allowing "for his services at the rate of five hundred pounds per annum."

The moderation which might have persuaded the ministry to conciliatory measures extended to South Carolina. On the thirteenth of December, at a meeting of the planters, merchants, and mechanics of Charleston, Thomas Lynch, a

man of sense and inflexible firmness, strove to keep alive the spirit of resistance, and even shed tears for the expiring liberty of his country. He was seconded by Gadsden, who was an "enthusiast in the cause," ever suspicious of "British moderation;" and by John Mackenzie, whose English education at Cambridge had made him more able to defend the colonies. But South Carolina could neither continue non-importation alone, nor by itself devise a new system. Its association was therefore dissolved, like the rest; the goods of importers which had been stored by the general committee were delivered up; and in Charleston, the fourth largest city in the colonies, then having five thousand and more white inhabitants, with nearly six thousand blacks, commerce resumed its wonted activity in every thing but tea.

In foreign relations, Lord North was still more fortunate. England, following the impulse given by Lord Egmont during the administration of Grenville, had taken possession of the Falkland Islands as the key to the Pacific, and had been ejected from them by Spain. Weymouth would have retaken them at all hazards; Lord North gained honor by consenting to abandon Port Egmont, on its temporary restitution and a disavowal of its seizure by the Spanish government. The terms would have been rejected with disdain, had not Choiseul, who would not have feared war for a great cause like the emancipation of the colonial world, checked the rashness of Spain and assumed the direction of its diplomacy. The opposition to the English ministry raised a vehement clamor against the wise settlement of the question. Sir Robert Walpole had yielded to a similar clamor, and had yet lost his place; Lord North resisted it, and gained strength by securing peace without a compromise of the public dignity. The administration needed for its defence no more than the exposition of the madness of modern wars in the brilliant and forcible language of Johnson, and it obtained the applause of Adam Smith and the approval of the country.

1771. Moreover, a way was opened to the ministry to
Jan. attract to itself that part of the opposition which was composed of the friends of Grenville, who was now

no more. Suffolk became secretary of state instead of Weymouth; and, Thurlow being promoted, Wedderburn, whose "credit for veracity" Lord North so lately impeached, and who in his turn had denied to that minister "honor and respectability," refused to go upon a forlorn hope, and leased his eloquence to the government for the office of solicitor-general.

By these arrangements, Lord North obtained twelve new votes; and still further good luck was in store for him. On the twenty-fourth of December, just as he had rendered to his country the benefit of averting a war without a national object, Choiseul, the ablest French minister of the century, was dismissed from office and exiled to Chanteloupe, not because he was impassioned for war, as his enemies pretended, but because he was the friend of philosophy, freedom of industry, and colonial independence. Thoroughly a Frenchman, as Chatham was thoroughly an Englishman, he longed to renovate France that she might revenge the wounds inflicted on her glory. For this end, he had sought to improve her finances, restore her marine, reform her army, and surround her by allies. Marie Antoinette, the wife of the dauphin, was a pledge for the friendship of Austria; Prussia was conciliated; and, as the family compact was in force at Naples and in the Spanish peninsula, he left France with friends, and friends only, from the Bosphorus to Cadiz. Crowds paid their homage to the retiring statesman; he was dear to the parliaments he had defended, to men of letters he had encouraged, and to Frenchmen whose hearts beat for the honor of their land in its rivalry with England. His policy was so identified with the passions, the sympathies, and the culture of his country, was so thoroughly national and so liberal, that it was sure to return in spite of the royalist party and the court. But for the time dynastic monarchy carried the day; and, had America then risen, she would have found no friends to cheer her on.

This was the happiest period in the career of Lord North. His system acquired stability, and was sure of majorities. No danger hung over him but from his own love of ease.

1770.
Dec.

"Seated on the treasury bench, between his attorney and solicitor general," his equals in ability, but most unlike him in character, he indulged in slumber when America required all his wakefulness. As he failed in vigilance at the helm, he was soon thrown upon a lee shore by the selfishness and vain-glory of American governors. Hutchinson was lapping himself in the promise of being paid a secure and bountiful salary out of the tax on tea; and Tryon, just before leaving his province, was trampling out all trust in the uprightness of the servants of the crown.

1771.
Feb.

The regulators of North Carolina gathered together in the woods, on hearing that their representative had been expelled and arbitrarily imprisoned, and they themselves menaced with exile or death as outlaws. They had toiled honestly for their own support; not living on the spoils of other men's labors, nor snatching the bread out of other men's hands. They accepted the maxim, that laws, statutes, and customs, which are against God's law or nature, are all null; and that civil officers who exacted illegal taxes and fees from the industrious poor were guilty of a worse crime than open robbery. They asked no more than that extortioners might be brought to fair trials, and "the collectors of the public money called to proper settlements of their accounts." Honor and good faith prompted them to join for the rescue of Husbands.

Without some sanction of law, Tryon dared no longer detain in custody the sturdy freeholder, who had come down under the safeguard of his unquestioned election to the legislature; he therefore conspired with the chief justice to get Husbands indicted for a pretended libel. But the grand jury refused to do the work assigned them; and the prisoner was set free.

The governor, by a new commission, called another court for the eleventh of March; and by the strictest orders to the sheriffs, many of whom were defaulters, and by the indefatigable exertions of his own private secretary, he took care to obtain jurors and witnesses suited to his purpose.

The liberation of Husbands having stopped the march

of the regulators, it occurred to some of them on their return to visit Salisbury superior court. On the sixth of March, about four or five hundred of them encamped in the woods near the ferry, west of the Yadkin River. 1771.
March.

"The lawyers are every thing," they complained. "There should be none in the province." "We shall be forced to kill them all." "There never was such an act as the riot act in the laws of England." This last was true; the counsel to the board of trade, making his official report upon that law, declared its clause of outlawry "altogether unfit for any part of the British empire." "We come," said the chiefs in the regulators' camp to an officer from Salisbury, "with no intention to obstruct the court, or to injure the person or property of any one, but only to petition for a redress of grievances against officers taking exorbitant fees." "Why then," it was asked, "are some of you armed?" "Our arms," said they, "are only to defend ourselves." They were told that no court would be held on account of the disturbances; but the very persons of whom they complained, finding them "peaceably disposed beyond expectation," agreed with them that all differences with the officers of the county of Rowan should be settled by arbitration on the third Tuesday in May. The umpires being named, the regulators marched through Salisbury, gave three cheers, and quietly returned to their homes.

But Tryon and Fanning were bent on revenge. On the eleventh of March, the court opened at Newbern; with willing witnesses and a unanimous grand jury, sixty-one indictments were found, for felonies or riots, against the leading regulators in Orange county, who lived two hundred miles off, and many of whom had been at home during the riots of which they were accused. By law, criminal jurisdiction belonged in the first instance to the district within which offences were charged to have been committed; every one of the indictments was illegal; and yet those charged with felony must appear within sixty days, or a merciless governor will declare them outlaws.

Tryon next received the grand jury at the palace, and volunteered to them to lead troops into the western coun-

ties. The obsequious body, passing beyond their proper functions, applauded his purpose; and the council acquiesced. To obtain the necessary funds, which the legislature had refused to provide, Tryon created a paper currency by drafts on the treasury.

1771. The northern treasurer declined to sanction the
April. illegal drafts, and, in consequence, the eastern counties took no part in the scenes that followed; but the southern treasurer complied. From Wilmington, a body of militia, under the command of Waddel, was sent to Salisbury, while Tryon himself, having written a
May. harsh rebuke of the agreement in Rowan county for arbitration, marched into Orange county. His progress was marked by the destruction of wheat-fields and orchards, the burning of every house which was found empty; the seizure of cattle, poultry, and all the produce of the plantations. The terrified people ran together like sheep chased by a wolf. Tryon crossed the Eno and the Haw; and the men who had been indicted at Newbern for felonies were already advertised as outlaws, when, on the evening of the fourteenth, he reached the Great Alamance.

His army was composed of one thousand and eighteen foot soldiers and thirty light-horse, besides the officers. The regulators, who had been drawn together not as insurgents, but from alarm,—many, perhaps most of them, without guns,—may have numbered rather more, and were encamped about five miles to the west of the stream. They gathered round James Hunter as their “general;” and his capacity and courage won from the unorganized host implicit obedience. They were almost in despair, lest the governor “would not lend a kind ear to the just complaints of the people.” Still, on the evening of the fifteenth, they entreated that harmony might yet be restored, that “the presaged tragedy of warlike marching to meet each other might be prevented;” that the governor would give them leave to present “their petition,” and treat for peace.

The next day, Tryon crossed Alamance River, and marched out to meet the regulators. As he approached, James Hunter, and Benjamin Merrill, a captain of militia,

"a man in general esteem for his honesty, integrity, piety, and moral good life," received from him this answer: "I require you to lay down your arms, surrender up the outlawed ringleaders, submit yourselves to the laws, and rest on the lenity of the government. By accepting these terms in one hour, you will prevent an effusion of blood, as you are at this time in a state of war and rebellion."

The demands were unjustifiable. No one of the regulators had been legally outlawed, or even legally indicted. The governor acted against law as against right, and by every rule deserved to be resisted. Yet the regulators reluctantly accepted the appeal to arms; for they had nothing to hope from victory itself.

The action began before noon, by firing a field-piece into the midst of the people. Many of the regulators, perhaps the larger number, retired; but those who remained disputed the field for two hours, fighting first in the open ground and then from behind trees, till, having nearly expended their ammunition, Hunter and his men were compelled to retreat. Nine of the king's troops were killed, and sixty-one wounded. Of the regulators, above twenty fell in battle, besides the wounded. Some prisoners were taken in the pursuit. Before sunset, Tryon returned in triumph to his camp.

The next day, James Few, one of the prisoners, was, by the governor's order, hanged on a tree as an outlaw; and his parents were ruined by the destruction of their estate. Then followed one proclamation after another, excepting from mercy outlaws and prisoners, and promising it to none but those who should take an oath of allegiance, pay taxes, submit to the laws, and deliver up their arms.

After this, Tryon proceeded to the Yadkin to join Waddel, who had incurred some danger of being cut off. Waddel then moved through the south-western counties, unmolested, except that in Mecklenburg his ammunition was blown up; while Tryon turned back, living at free quarters on the regulators, burning the houses, and laying waste the plantations of every outlaw.

On the ninth of June, he arrived at Hillsborough, where the court awaited him. His first work was a proclamation

1771.
June.

inviting "every person" to shoot Herman Husbands, or James Hunter, or Redknapp Howell, or William Butler; and offering a hundred pounds and a thousand acres of land, as a reward for the delivery of either of them alive or dead. Then twelve men, taken in battle, were tried and brought in guilty of treason; and, on the nineteenth of June, six of them were hanged under the eye of the governor, who himself marked the spot for the execution, gave directions for clearing the field, and sketched in general orders the line of march of the army, with the station of each company round the gallows. The victims died bravely. It is yet kept in memory how heroically Benjamin Merrill met his fate, sustained by the affection of his children, and declaring that he died at peace with his Maker, in the cause of his country.

1771. The next day, Tryon taking care to make the most
June. of the confiscated lands, which were among the best on the continent, left Hillsborough; and, on the thirtieth, sailed to New York, leaving the burden of an illegally contracted debt of more than forty thousand pounds. His successor dared not trust the people with the immediate election of a new assembly, though terror and despair had brought six thousand of the regulators to submission.

The governors of South Carolina and of Virginia were requested not to harbor the fugitives. But the wilderness offered shelter beyond the mountains. Without concert, instinctively impelled by discontent and the wearisomeness of life exposed to bondage, men crossed the Alleghanies, and, descending into the basin of the Tennessee, made their homes in the valley of the Watauga. There no lawyer followed them with writs; there no king's governor came to be their lord; there the flag of England never waved. By degrees, they extended their settlements to the broader Nolichucky, whose sparkling waters spring out of the tallest mountains in the range. The health-giving westerly wind prevailed at all seasons; in spring, the wild crab-apple filled the air with the sweetest of perfumes. A fertile soil gave to industry good crops of maize; the clear streams flowed pleasantly without tearing floods; where the closest thickets of spruce and rhododendron flung the cooling shade furthest

over the river, trout abounded. The elk and the red deer were not wanting in the natural parks of oak and hickory, of maple, elm, black ash, and buckeye. Of quails and turkeys and pigeons, there was no end. The golden eagle built its nest on the topmost ledge of the mountain, wheeling in wide circles high above the pines, or dropping like a meteor upon its prey. The black bear, whose flesh was held to be the most delicate of meats, grew so fat upon the abundant acorns and chestnuts that he could be run down in a race of three hundred yards; and sometimes the hunters gave chase to the coward panther, strong enough to beat off twenty dogs, yet flying from one. To acquire a peaceful title to their lands, the settlers despatched James Robertson to the council of the Cherokees, from whom he obtained promises of confidence and friendship, and a lease of territory. For government, its members, in 1772, 1772. came together as brothers in convention, and founded a republic by a written association; appointed their own magistrates, James Robertson among the first; framed laws for their present occasions; and "set to the people of America the example of erecting themselves into a state, independent of the authority" of the British king.

In the old counties of Orange and Mecklenburg, in the "overhill" glades of Carolina, and the breasts of the mountaineers who planted the commonwealth of Tennessee, a bloodthirsty governor, in his vengeful zeal for the crown, had treasured up wrath for the day of wrath.

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CHAPTER XLVII.

GREAT BRITAIN CENTRES IN ITSELF POWER OVER ITS COLONIES. HILLSBOROUGH'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE COLONIES CONCLUDED.

JUNE, 1771—AUGUST, 1772.

1771. "THE glorious spirit of liberty is vanquished, and left
June. without hope but in a miracle," said desponding patriots in Boston. "I confess," said Samuel Adams, "we have, as Wolfe expressed it, a choice of difficulties. Too many flatter themselves that their pusillanimity is true prudence; but, in perilous times like these, I cannot conceive of prudence without fortitude." John Adams retired from "the service of the people," and, devoting himself to his profession, for a time ceased even to employ his pen in their defence. Otis, now disordered in mind and jealous of his declining influence, did but impede the public cause. In Hancock, vanity so mingled with patriotism that the government hoped to win him over.

The assembly, which for the third year was convened at Cambridge, adopted a protest in which Samuel Adams drew the distinction between a prerogative and its abuse; and inquired what would follow in England, if a British king should call a parliament in Cornwall and keep it there seven years. Nor did he omit to expose the rapid consolidation of power in the hands of the executive, by the double process of making all civil officers dependent for support solely on the king, and giving to arbitrary instructions an authority paramount to the charter and the laws.

July. The protest had hardly been adopted, when the application of its doctrines became necessary. The commissioners of the customs had, through Hutchinson, applied for an exemption of their salaries from the colonial

income tax; and Hillsborough, disregarding a usage of more than fifty years, commanded the compliance of the legislature. The engrossed tax bill for the year was of the same tenor with the annual acts from time immemorial. The assessors had moreover rated the commissioners with extreme moderation. Persons who had less income were taxed as much as they, so that it did not even appear that any regard was had to their salaries. Paxton's provincial tax, for all his personal estate and all his income, was for the last year less than three pounds sterling; and what he paid to the town and county not much more. And, to defeat this little tax, in itself so reasonable, so consonant to usage, and in its apportionment so forbearing, Hutchinson, on the fourth of July, greatly against his own judgment, negatived the bill, and declared his obligation under his instructions to negative any other drawn in the same usual terms. 1771.
July.

The stopping of supplies by a veto of the crown was unknown in England; an order from the king to exempt special individuals from their share of taxation was unconstitutional; the exemption, if submitted to by the assembly, would have been an acquiescence in an unwarrantable instruction, and a formal recognition of the system of parliamentary taxation. Samuel Adams perceived all the danger, and on the next day the house replied in his words: "We know of no commissioners of his majesty's customs, nor of any revenue his majesty has a right to establish in North America; we know and feel a tribute levied and extorted from those who, if they have property, have a right to the absolute disposal of it. To withhold your assent to this bill, merely by force of instruction, is effectually vacating the charter, and giving instructions the force of laws, within this province. If such a doctrine shall be established, the representatives of a free people would be reduced to this fatal alternative: either to have no taxes levied and raised at all, or to have them raised and levied in such a way and manner, and upon those only whom his majesty pleases." At the first meeting of the assembly, loyalty had prevailed, and the decided patriots were in a minority; in closing the

session, Hutchinson put at issue the respect for monarchy itself. "I know," said he, "that your messages and resolves of the last year were very displeasing to the king; I shall transmit my messages, and this your extraordinary answer, to be laid before him." Thus the province was led to speculate on the personal opinions of their sovereign, and to inquire into the use of regal power itself; while the king regarded the contest with Massachusetts as involving not only the power of Great Britain and the rights of the crown, but his personal honor.

Wise men saw the event that was approaching, but not that it was so near. Franklin foretold a bloody struggle, in which "America's growing strength and magnitude" would give her the victory. The instructions of the house to its agent imbodyed the principle that colonial legislation was free of parliament and of royal instructions. They were drawn by Samuel Adams, who had long before said, in town-meeting: "Independent we are, and independent we will be." "I doubt," said Hutchinson, "whether there is a greater incendiary than he in the king's dominions." His language became more explicit as danger drew nearer.

1771.
Aug. In August, Boston saw in its harbor twelve vessels of war, carrying more than two hundred and sixty guns, commanded by Montagu, the brother of Lord Sandwich.

Yet there was no one salient wrong to attract the sudden and universal attention of the people. The southern governors felt no alarm. Eden from Maryland congratulated Hillsborough on the return of confidence and harmony. "The people," thus Johnson, the agent of Connecticut, wrote after his return home, "appear to be weary of their altercations with the mother country; a little discreet conduct on both sides would perfectly re-establish that warm affection and respect towards Great Britain for which this country was once so remarkable." Hutchinson, too, Sept. reported "a disposition in all the colonies to let the controversy with the kingdom subside." The king sent word to tempt Hancock by marks of favor. "Hancock and most of the party," said the governor, "are quiet; and all of them, except Adams, abate of their virulence.

Adams would push the continent into a rebellion to-morrow, if it was in his power." While America generally was so tranquil, Samuel Adams continued musing, till the thought of correspondence and union among the friends of liberty flashed upon his mind. "It would be an arduous task," he said, meditating a project which required a year's reflection for its maturity, "to awaken a sufficient number in the colonies to so grand an undertaking. Nothing, however, should be despaired of. Through the press, in October, he continued: "We have nothing to rely 1771.
Oct. upon but the interposition of our friends in Britain, of which I have no expectation, or the LAST APPEAL. The tragedy of American freedom is nearly completed. A tyranny seems to be at the very door. They who lie under oppression deserve what they suffer; let them perish with their oppressors. Could millions be enslaved, if all possessed the independent spirit of Brutus, who, to his immortal honor, expelled the tyrant of Rome, and his royal and rebellious race? The liberties of our country are worth defending at all hazards. If we should suffer them to be wrested from us, millions yet unborn may be the miserable sharers in the event. Every step has been taken but one; and the last appeal would require prudence, unanimity, and fortitude. America must herself, under God, work out her own salvation."

In the annual proclamation which appointed the Nov. festival of thanksgiving, and which used to be read from every pulpit, Hutchinson sought to ensnare the clergy by enumerating as a cause for gratitude "that civil and religious liberties were continued," and "trade enlarged." He was caught in his own toils. All the Boston ministers except one refused to read the paper; when Pemberton, of whose church the governor was a member, began confusedly to do so, the patriots of his congregation, turning their backs on him, walked out of meeting; and nearly all the ministers agreed on the Thanksgiving Day "to implore of Almighty God the restoration of lost liberties."

Nowise disheartened, Hutchinson waited "to hear Dec.

how the extravagance of the assembly in their last session would be resented by the king ;" now striving to set Hancock more and more against Adams ; now seeking to lull the people into security ; now boasting of his band of writers on the side of government, Church, a professed patriot, being of the number ; now triumphing at the spectacle of Otis, who was carried into the country, bound hand and foot as a maniac ; now speculating on the sale of cheap teas at high prices ; now urging the government in England to remodel all the New England provinces, even while he pretended that they were quiet and submissive. His only fears were lest his advice should become known in America, and lest Temple, who had gone to England, and who hated and despised him, should estrange from him the old friends of Grenville.

Confirmed by the seeming tranquillity in America, and by the almost unprecedented strength of the ministry in parliament, Hillsborough gave free scope to his conceit, wrong-headedness, obstinacy, and passion, and perplexed affairs by the senseless exercise of authority. To show his firmness, he still required the legislature of Massachusetts to exempt the commissioners from taxation, or the tax bill should be negatived ; while Gage was enjoined to attend to the security of the fortress in Boston harbor.

In Georgia, Noble Wimberley Jones, a man of exemplary life and character, had been elected speaker. Wright, who reported him to be "a very strong Liberty Boy," would not consent to the choice ; and the house voted the interference a breach of their privileges. Hillsborough had censured their unwarrantable and inconsistent arrogance. He now directed the governor "to put his negative upon any person whom they should next elect for speaker, and to dissolve the assembly in case they should question the right of such negative."

1772. The affections of South Carolina were still more
Jan. thoroughly alienated. Its public men were ruled by their sense of honor, and felt a stain upon it as a wound. From the day when Lyttelton had abruptly dismissed a Carolinian from the king's council, it became the pride of

native Carolinians not to accept a seat in that body. The members of the assembly "disdained to take any pay for their attendance." Since March, 1771, no legislative act had been perfected, because the governor refused to pass any appropriations which should cover the grant of the assembly to the society for the bill of rights; but patriot planters lent their private credit and purses to the wants of colonial agents and committees. To extend the benefit of courts of justice into the interior, the province, at an expense of five thousand pounds, bought the monopoly of Richard Cumberland as provost by patent for the whole; and offered to establish salaries for the judges, if the commissions of those judges were but made permanent as in England. At last, in 1769, trusting to the honor of the crown, they voted perpetual grants of salaries. When this was done, Rawlins Lowndes and others, their own judges, taken from among themselves, were dismissed; and an Irishman, a Scotchman, and a Welshman were sent over by Hillsborough to take their places. "The honors of the state," said the planters, "are all given away to worthless sycophants." The governor, Lord Charles Greville Montagu, had no palace at Charleston; he uttered a threat to convene the South Carolina assembly at Port Royal, unless they would vote him a house to his mind. This is the culminating point of administrative insolence.

The system of concentrating all colonial power in England was resisted at the west. In Illinois, the ^{1772.} March. corruption and favoritism of the military commander compelled the people to a remonstrance. The removal of them all to places within the limits of some established colony was the mode of pacification which Hillsborough approved. The Spanish jurisdiction across the river offered so near a sanctuary, that such a policy was impracticable. An establishment by the crown upon the lowest plan of expense, and without any intermixture of popular power, was thought of. "A regular constitutional government for them," said Gage, "cannot be suggested. They don't deserve so much attention." "I agree with you," rejoined Hillsborough; "a regular government for that district

would be highly improper." The people of Illinois, weary of the shameless despotism which aimed only at forestalling tracts of land, the monopoly of the Indian trade, or the ruin of the French villages, took their cause into their own hands; they demanded institutions like those of Connecticut, and set themselves against any proposal for a government which should be irresponsible to themselves. In 1771, they assembled in a general meeting, and fixed upon their scheme from which they never departed, "expecting to appoint their own governor and all civil magistrates."

^{1772.}
March. Towards the people at Vincennes, Hillsborough was less relenting; for they were at his mercy, with no

Spanish shore to which they could fly. They were, by formal proclamation, peremptorily commanded to retire within the jurisdiction of some one of the colonies. But the men of Indiana were as unwilling to abandon their homes in a settlement already seventy years old as those of Illinois to give up the hope of freedom. And what allegiance would men of French origin bear to a British king who proposed to take away their estates and to deny them liberty?

The people of Virginia were overruled on a subject of still more vital importance to them and their posterity. Their halls of legislation had resounded with eloquence directed against the terrible plague of negro slavery. The earnest struggle for their own liberty made them more thoughtful of the sorrows of the humble who were oppressed by themselves. An act of 1748 had imposed unequal taxes on the wives and female children of free people of color; in November, 1769, the grievance was redressed, because, says the statute-book, "it is found very burthensome to such negroes, mulattoes, and Indians, and is moreover derogatory of the rights of free-born subjects." To Jefferson, it did not seem enough to guard the rights of the free-born subjects of African descent; in this same session, he brought in a bill for permitting the unrestricted emancipation of slaves. But the abrogation of the slave-trade was regarded by the legislature as the necessary preliminary to successful efforts at getting rid of slavery itself. Again and again

they had passed laws restraining the importations of negroes from Africa; but their laws were disallowed. How to prevent them from protecting themselves against the increase of the overwhelming evil was debated by the king in council; and on the tenth of December, 1770, he issued an instruction, under his own hand, commanding the governor, "upon pain of the highest displeasure, to assent to no law by which the importation of slaves should be in any respect prohibited or obstructed." In April, 1772, 1772.
April. this rigorous order was solemnly debated in the assembly of Virginia. The negro slaves in the low country were double the number of the white people, and gained every year from importations and from births, so as to alarm not only Virginia, but all America. "The people of this colony," it was said, "must fall upon means not only of preventing their increase, but also of lessening their number; and the interest of the country would manifestly require the total expulsion of them. Supposing it possible, by rigor and exemplary punishment, to prevent any insurrection, yet, in case of a war, the people, with great reason, tremble at the facility that an enemy would find in procuring such a body of men, attached by no tie to their masters or their country, ready to join the first that would encourage them to revenge themselves, by which means a conquest of this country would inevitably be effected in a very short time." The abhorred instruction which maintained the nefarious trade in men sprung directly from the throne; Virginia, therefore, resolved to address the king himself. They entreated of him leave to defend themselves against the crimes of commercial avarice, and these were their words:—

"The importation of slaves into the colonies from the coast of Africa hath long been considered as a trade of great inhumanity; and under its present encouragement, we have too much reason to fear, will endanger the very existence of your majesty's American dominions. We are sensible that some of your majesty's subjects in Great Britain may reap emoluments from this sort of traffic; but, when we consider that it greatly retards the settlement of the colonies with more useful inhabitants, and may in time have the

most destructive influence, we presume to hope that the interest of a few will be disregarded, when placed in competition with the security and happiness of such numbers of your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects.

"Deeply impressed with these sentiments, we most humbly beseech your majesty to remove all those restraints on your majesty's governors of this colony which inhibit their assenting to such laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce."

Thousands in Maryland and in New Jersey were ready to adopt a similar petition ; so were the legislatures of North Carolina, of Pennsylvania, of New York. Massachusetts, in its towns and in its legislature, had reprobated the condition of slavery as well as the sale of slaves. There was no jealousy of one another in the strife against the crying evil ; Virginia harmonized all opinions, and represented the moral sentiment and policy of them all. How strong were her own convictions, how earnest and united the efforts of her statesmen, appears from this, that Dunmore himself, giving utterance to a seemingly unanimous desire, was constrained to plead with the ministry in behalf of the petitioners for leave to prohibit the slave-trade by law.

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June. When the prayer reached England, it had just been decided, on the twenty-second of June, that a negro who had been a slave in Massachusetts, and had been taken to England, became free the moment that he set his foot on English ground ; for, said Lord Mansfield, in pronouncing the opinion of himself and all the judges present, "the power of a master over his slave must be supported by the laws of particular countries ; a claim to a right over a man is not known to the laws of England ; tracing the subject to natural rights, the claim of slavery never can be supported ; the power claimed never was in use here, or acknowledged by law." But the British government was less liberal than the bench of judges ; and the king of England, though he blushed to reject in form the appeal of Virginia to himself, made no reply, and still stood forth as the unyielding protector of the slave-trade. Wherever in the colonies a disposition was shown for its restraint, his

servants were peremptorily ordered to maintain it without abatement.

“Pharisaical Britain!” said Franklin, through the press; “to pride thyself in setting free a single slave that happened to land on thy coasts, while thy merchants in all thy ports are encouraged by thy laws to continue a commerce whereby so many hundreds of thousands are dragged into a slavery that can scarce be said to end with their lives, since it is entailed on their posterity.” Yet the decision of the king’s bench was momentous; for it settled the question that slavery, in any part of the British dominions of those days, rested only on local laws.

The great men of Virginia already looked forward to a thorough social change. In January, 1773, 1773.
Jan. Patrick Henry, writing to a member of the society of Friends, chid those of them who were “lukewarm in the abolition of slavery.” “Is it not amazing,” so he expressed himself, “that, at a time when the rights of humanity are defined and understood with precision, in a country above all others fond of liberty, in such an age, we find men professing a religion the most humane, mild, meek, gentle, and generous, adopting a principle as repugnant to humanity as it is inconsistent with the Bible and destructive to liberty? Every thinking honest man rejects it in speculation; but how few in practice, from conscientious motives! Believe me, I shall honor the Quakers for their noble efforts to abolish slavery; they are equally calculated to promote moral and political good. Would any one believe that I am master of slaves of my own purchase? I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living without them. I will not, I cannot, justify it; however culpable my conduct, I will so far pay my *devoir* to virtue as to own the excellence and rectitude of her precepts, and to lament my want of conformity to them. I believe a time will come when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil; every thing we can do is to improve it, if it happens in our day; if not, let us transmit to our descendants, together with our slaves, a pity for their unhappy lot and an abhorrence of slavery. We owe to the purity of

our religion to show that it is at variance with that law which warrants slavery. I exhort you to persevere. I could say many things on this subject, a serious view of which gives a gloomy prospect to future times."

But the voice of Virginia gained its clearest utterance through one of her sons, who was of a deeper, sadder, and more earnest nature than Henry or Jefferson. Early
1773. in 1773, wrought upon by some all-powerful impulse, George Mason addressed to its legislature these prophetic words:

"Mean and sordid, but extremely short-sighted and foolish, is that self-interest which, in political questions, opposeth itself to the public good: a wise man can no other way so effectually consult the permanent welfare of his own family and posterity as by securing the just rights and privileges of that society to which they belong.

"Perhaps the constitution may by degrees work itself clear by its own innate strength, the virtue and resolution of the community, as hath often been the case in our mother country. This last is the natural remedy, if not counteracted by that slow poison which is daily contaminating the minds and morals of our people. Every gentleman here is born a petty tyrant. Practised in arts of despotism and cruelty, we become callous to the dictates of humanity, and all the finer feelings of the soul. Taught to regard a part of our own species in the most abject and contemptible degree below us, we lose that idea of the dignity of a man which the hand of nature hath planted in us for great and useful purposes. Habituated from our infancy to trample upon the rights of human nature, every generous, every liberal sentiment, if not extinguished, is enfeebled in our minds; and in such an infernal school are to be educated our future legislators and rulers. The laws of impartial Providence may even by such means as these avenge upon our posterity the injury done to a set of wretches whom our injustice hath debased to a level with the brute creation. These remarks were extorted by a kind of irresistible, perhaps an enthusiastic impulse; and the author of them, conscious of his own good intentions, cares not whom they please or offend."

Inhabitants of Providence, in Rhode Island, had, in March, 1772, complained to the deputy governor of Lieutenant Dudingston, commander of the "Gaspee." Hopkins, the chief justice, on being consulted, gave the opinion "that any person who should come into the colony and exercise any authority by force of arms, without showing his commission to the governor, and, if a custom-house officer, without being sworn into his office, was guilty of a trespass, if not piracy." The governor, therefore, sent a sheriff on board the "Gaspee," to ascertain by what orders the lieutenant acted. Dudingston referred the subject to the admiral, who answered from Boston: "The lieutenant, sir, has done his duty. I shall give the king's officers directions that they send every man taken in molesting them to me. As sure as the people of Newport attempt to rescue any vessel, and any of them are taken, I will hang them as pirates." Dudingston seconded the insolence of his superior officer, insulted the inhabitants, plundered the islands of sheep and hogs, cut down trees, fired at market-boats, detained vessels without a colorable pretext, and made illegal seizures of goods of which the recovery cost more than they were worth.

On the ninth of June, the Providence packet was returning to Providence, and, proud of its speed, went gayly on, heedless of the "Gaspee." Dudingston gave chase. The tide being at flood, the packet ventured near shore; the "Gaspee" confidently followed; and, drawing more water, ran aground on Namquit, a little below Pawtuxet. The following night, a party of men in six or seven boats, led by John Brown and Joseph Brown of Providence, and Simeon Potter of Bristol, boarded the stranded schooner, after a scuffle in which Dudingston was wounded, took and landed its crew, and then set it on fire. The whole was conducted on a sudden impulse; yet Sandwich resolved never to leave pursuing the colony of Rhode Island, until its charter should be taken away. "A few punished at Execution dock would be the only effectual preventive of any further attempt," wrote Hutchinson, who wished to see a beginning of punishing American offenders in England. There now existed a

statute authorizing such a procedure. Two months before, the king had assented to an act for the better securing dock-yards, ships, and stores, which made death the penalty for destroying even the oar of a cutter's boat or the head of an empty cask belonging to the fleet, and subjected the accused to a trial in any county in Great Britain; and this act extended to the colonies.

For the last five years, there had been no contested election in Boston. Deceived by the apparent tranquillity, the friends of government attempted to defeat the choice of Samuel Adams as representative; but the malice of his enemies rendered him still dearer to the people, and he had more than twice and a half as many votes as his opponent.

The legislature was for the fourth year convened at Cambridge; but the governor had grown weary of his pretensions, and, against his declared purpose, adjourned the session to the accustomed house in Boston.

The assembly of Massachusetts at that place gave attention to the gradual change in the constitution of the colony effected by the payment of the king's civil officers through warrants under his sign manual, drawn on a perennial fund raised by an act of parliament. They regarded the charter as "a most solemn compact," which bound them to Great Britain. By that charter, they held, they were to have a governor and judges, over whom the power of the king was protected by the right of nomination, the power of the colony by the exclusive right of providing support. These views were embodied by Hawley in a report to the assembly, and, on the tenth of July, adopted by a vote of eighty-five to nineteen. It followed, and was so resolved, that a governor who, like Hutchinson, was not dependent on the people for support, was not such a governor as the people had consented to, at the granting of the charter; the house most solemnly protested "that the innovation was an important change of the constitution, and exposed the province to a despotic administration of government." The inference was unavoidable. If the principle contained in the preamble to Townshend's revenue act should become the rule of administration, obedience would no longer be due to the

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governor, and the rightful dependence on England would be at an end.

On the seventh of August, the secretary, with eager haste, announced that the king, with the "entire concurrence of Lord North, had made provision for the support of his law servants in the province of Massachusetts Bay." This act, constituting judges, who held their offices at the king's pleasure, stipendiaries of the crown, was the crisis of revolution.

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Aug.

Meantime, Hillsborough was left with few supporters except the herd of flatterers who had made his vanity subservient to their selfishness. The king was weary of him; his colleagues conspired to drive him into retirement. The occasion was at hand. Franklin had negotiated with the treasury for a grant to a company of about twenty-three millions of acres of land, south of the Ohio and west of the Alleghanies; Hillsborough, from the fear that men in the backwoods would be too independent, opposed the project. Franklin persuaded Hertford, Gower, Camden, the secretaries of the treasury, and others, to become shareholders in his scheme; by their influence, the lords of council disregarded the adverse report of the board of trade, and decided in favor of planting the new province. Hillsborough was too proud to brook this public insult; and the king, soothing his fall by a patent for a British earldom, accepted his resignation. But Thurlow took care that the grant for the western province should never be sealed; and the amiable Dartmouth, who became secretary for the colonies, had been taught to believe with Lord North and the king, that it was necessary to carry out the policy of consolidation, as set forth in Townshend's preamble.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE TOWNS OF MASSACHUSETTS HOLD CORRESPONDENCE.

AUGUST, 1772—JANUARY, 1773.

“WE must get the colonies into order, before we engage with our neighbors,” were the words of the king to
1772. Lord North in August; and, though nothing could
Aug. be more unlike than the manners of George III. and Louis XV., a cordial understanding sprung up between them, and even a project for a defensive alliance, that monarchy might triumph in France over philosophy, in America over the people.

If, in other affairs, Louis XV. was weak of purpose, on the subject of royal authority he never wavered. To him Protestants were republicans; and he would not even legalize their marriages. Bold in doing ill, he violated the constitutions of Languedoc and Brittany without scruple, employing military force against their states. The parliament of Paris, even more than the other companies of judges, had become an aristocratic senate, not only distributing justice, but exercising some check on legislation. Louis XV. demanded their unqualified registry of his edicts. “Sire,” remonstrated the upright magistrate Malesherbes, in 1771, “to mark your dissatisfaction with the parliament of Paris, the most essential rights of a free people are taken from the nation. The greatest happiness of the people is always the object and end of legitimate power. God places the crown on the head of kings to preserve to their subjects the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property. This truth flows from the law of God and from the law of nature, and is peculiar to no constitution. In France, as in all mon-

archies, there exist inviolable rights, which belong to the nation. Interrogate, sire, the nation itself: the incorruptible testimony of its representatives will at least let you know if the cause which we defend to-day is that of all this people, by whom you reign and for whom you reign." "I will never change," replied Louis. Exiling Malesherbes, he overturned all the parliaments, and reconstructed the courts. "The crown is rescued from the dust of the rolls," cried his flatterers. "It is the tower of Babel," said others, "or chaos come again, or the end of the world." But the shameless vices of the monarch brought foul dishonor on himself and degraded the throne.

The king of England, likewise, had no higher 1772.
Sept. object than to confirm his authority. The ministers of Prussia, Austria, and Russia, were signing at St. Petersburg the treaty for the first partition of Poland; he neither questioned its justice nor inquired into its motives. Towards European affairs, the British policy, like that of France, was one of inertness and peace. Poland might perish, and one province after another be wrested from the Porte, that Louis XV. might repose in voluptuous indulgence, and George III. obtain leisure to reduce America.

There, in New England, the marriage vow was austere sacred; no corrupt court tainted innocence; no licentious aristocracy competed for superiority in excesses. There industry created wealth, and divided it between all the children; and none professed that the human race lives for the few. There every man was, or expected to become, a freeholder; the owner of the land held the plough; he who held the plough held the sword also; and liberty, acquired by the sacrifices and sufferings of a revered ancestry, was guarded, under the blessing of God, as a sacred trust for posterity. There Hopkins, discoursing from the pulpit to the tillers of the soil, or to merchants and mariners, founded morals on the doctrine of disinterested love; establishing it as the duty of every one to be willing to sacrifice himself for the glory of God, the freedom of his country, the well-being of his race.

The younger Quincy misunderstood his countrymen, when

he wrote: "The word of God has pointed the mode of relief from Moabitish oppression: prayers and tears, with the help of a dagger. The Lord of light has given us the fit message to send to a tyrant: a dagger of a cubit in his belly; and every worthy man who desires to be an Ehud, the deliverer of his country, will strive to be the messenger." Hutchinson knew the people too well to be in dread of assassination; but this wild outbreak of vindictive frenzy seems to have been brought without delay to the notice of the secretary of state and of the king.

"This is a people," said Samuel Adams of his countrymen, "who of all the people on the earth deserve most to be free." Yet when he first proposed organizing revolution through committees of correspondence, every one of his colleagues in the delegation from Boston dissuaded from the movement. Hancock, who disapproved the measure as rash or insufficient, joined with three or four others of the selectmen of Boston; and they rejected the prayer of the first petition for a town meeting.

"America may assert her rights by resolves," insinuated Cushing; "but, before enforcing them, she must wait to grow more powerful." "We are at a crisis," was the answer; "this is the moment to decide whether our posterity shall inherit liberty or slavery." A new petition, signed by one hundred and six inhabitants, explaining how the judges would be corrupted into political partisans by their complete dependence, prevailed with the selectmen; and a meeting of the town of Boston was summoned for the twenty-eighth of October. The day came. "We must now strike a home blow," said the "Boston Gazette," "or sit down under the yoke of tyranny. The people in every town must instruct their representatives to send a remonstrance to the king of Great Britain, and assure him, unless their liberties are immediately restored whole and entire, they will form an independent commonwealth after the example of the Dutch provinces, and offer a free trade to all nations. Should any one province begin the example, the other provinces will follow; and Great Britain must

comply with our demands, or sink under the united force of the French and Spaniards. This is the plan that wisdom and Providence point out to preserve our rights, and this alone."

Towards executing that design, Adams moved with calm and undivided purpose; conducting public measures with a caution that left no step to be retraced. The attendance at Faneuil Hall was not great; the town only raised a committee to inquire of the governor if the judges of the province had become the stipendiaries of the crown. "This country," said Samuel Adams, in the interval, "must shake off its intolerable burdens at all events; every day strengthens our oppressors, and weakens us; if each town would declare its sense, our enemies could not divide us;" and he urged Elbridge Gerry, of Marblehead, to convoke the citizens of that port.

As the governor refused to answer the inquiry of the town, they next asked that he would allow the general assembly to meet on the day to which it had been prorogued.

A determined spirit began to show itself in the country; yet, when on the second of November 1772.
Nov. Boston reassembled, no more persons attended than on ordinary occasions. "If in compliance with your petition," such was Hutchinson's message to them, "I should alter my determination, and meet the assembly at such time as you judge necessary, I should, in effect, yield to you the exercise of that part of the prerogative. There would," moreover, "be danger of encouraging the inhabitants of the other towns in the province to assemble from time to time, in order to consider of the necessity or expediency of a session of the general assembly, or to debate and transact other matters, which the law, that authorizes towns to assemble, does not make the business of a town meeting."

By denying the right of the towns to discuss public questions, the governor placed himself at variance with the institution of town governments, the oldest and dearest and most characteristic of the established rights of New England, rooted in custom and twined with a thousand tendrils

round the faith of the people. The meeting read over the reply several times, and voted unanimously "that its
1772. inhabitants have, ever had, and ought to have a right
Nov. to petition the king or his representative for the redress or the preventing of grievances, and to communicate their sentiments to other towns."

Samuel Adams then arose, and made that motion which included the whole revolution, "that a committee of correspondence be appointed, to consist of twenty-one persons, to state the rights of the colonists, and of this province in particular, as men, as Christians, and as subjects; to communicate and publish the same to the several towns in this province and to the world, as the sense of this town, with the infringements and violations thereof that have been, or from time to time may be, made; also requesting of each town a free communication of their sentiments on this subject." The end in view was a general confederacy against the authority of parliament; the towns of the province were to begin, the assembly to confirm their doings, and invite the other colonies to join.

The motion was readily adopted; but it was difficult to raise the committee. Cushing, Hancock, and Phillips, three of the four representatives of Boston, pleaded private business and refused to serve; so did Scollay and Austin, two of the selectmen. The name of James Otis, who was now but a wreck, appears first on the list, as a tribute to former services. The two most important members were Samuel Adams and Joseph Warren, the first now recognised as a "masterly statesman," and the ablest political writer in New England; the second, a rare combination of gentleness with daring courage, of respect for law with the love of liberty. The two men never failed each other; the one growing old, the other in youthful manhood; thinking one set of thoughts, having one heart for their country, joining in one career of public policy and action; differing only in this, that, while Warren still clung to the hope of conciliation, Adams desired and foresaw the conflict for independence.

On the third of November, the Boston committee of correspondence met at the representatives' chamber, and organ-

ized itself by electing the true-hearted William Cooper its clerk. They next, by a unanimous vote, gave each to the others the pledge of "honor not to divulge any part of the conversation at their meetings to any person whatsoever, excepting what the committee itself should make known."

Samuel Adams was then appointed to prepare the statement of the rights of the colonists, and Joseph Warren of the several grievous violations of those rights; while a letter was addressed to the other towns. Meantime, Adams roused his friends throughout the province. No more "complaining," thus he wrote to James Warren, of Plymouth; "it is more than time to be rid of both tyrants and tryanny;" and explaining "the leading steps," which Boston had taken, he entreated the co-operation of the old colony.

The flame caught. Plymouth, Marblehead, Roxbury, Cambridge, prepared to second Boston. "God grant," said Samuel Adams, "that the love of liberty, and a zeal to support it, may enkindle in every town." "Their scheme of keeping up a correspondence through the province," wrote Hutchinson, in a letter which was laid before the king, "is such a foolish one, that it must necessarily make them ridiculous."

After the report of the Boston committee was prepared, Otis was appointed to present it to the town. As they chose on this last great occasion of his public appearance to name him with the honors of precedence, history may express satisfaction that he whose eloquence first awakened the thought of resistance should have been able to lend his presence and his name to the final movement for union. He was a man of many sorrows; familiar with grief, as one who had known little else. The burden of his infirmities was greater than he could bear; his fine intellect became a ruin, which reason wandered over, but did not occupy, and by its waning light showed less the original beauty of the structure than the completeness of its overthrow. The remainder of his life was passed in seclusion; years afterwards, when his country's independence had been declared, but not for him, he stood one summer's day in the porch of the farm-house

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Nov.

which was his retreat, watching a sudden shower. One flash, and only one, was seen in the sky ; one bolt fell, and, harming nothing else, struck James Otis, so that all that was mortal of him perished.

^{1772.}
Nov. 20. On the twentieth of November, Boston, in a legal town-meeting in Faneuil Hall, received the report of their committee. Among the natural rights of the colonists, they claimed a right to life, to liberty, to property ; in case of intolerable oppression, to change allegiance for their sake ; to resume them, if they had ever been renounced ; to rescue and preserve them, sword in hand.

The grievances of which they complained were the assumption by the British parliament of absolute power in all cases whatsoever ; the exertion of that power to raise a revenue in the colonies without their consent ; the appointment of officers unknown to the charter to collect the revenue ; the investing these officers with unconstitutional authority ; the supporting them by fleets and armies in time of peace ; the establishment of a civil list out of the unconstitutional revenue even for the judges whose commissions were held only during pleasure, and whose decisions affected property, liberty, and life ; the oppressive use of royal instructions ; the enormous extension of the power of the vice-admiralty courts ; the infringement of the right derived from God and nature to make use of their skill and industry, by prohibiting or restraining the manufacture of iron, of hats, of wool ; the violence of authorizing persons in the colonies to be taken up under pretence of certain offences, and carried to Great Britain for trial ; the claim of a right to establish a bishop and episcopal courts without the consent of the colony ; the frequent alteration of the bounds of colonies, followed by a necessity for the owners of the land to purchase fresh grants of their property from rapacious governors. "This enumeration," they said, "of some of the most open infringements of their rights will not fail to excite the attention of all who consider themselves interested in the happiness and freedom of mankind, and will by every candid person be judged sufficient to justify whatever measures have been or may be taken to obtain redress."

Having thus joined issue with the king and parliament, the inhabitants of the town of Boston voted, by means of committees of correspondence, to make an appeal to all the towns in the colony, "that the collected wisdom and fortitude of the whole people might dictate measures for the rescue of their happy and glorious constitution." "These worthy New Englanders," cried Chatham, as he read the report, "ever feel as Old Englanders ought to do."

And what was England gaining by the controversy? The commissioners of the stamp-office were just then settling their accounts for their expenses in America, which were found to have exceeded twelve thousand pounds, while they had received for revenue, almost exclusively from Canada and the West India Islands, only about fifteen hundred. The result of the tax on tea had been more disastrous. Even in Boston, under the eyes of the commissioners of the customs, seven eighths of the teas consumed were Dutch teas, and in the southern governments the proportion was much greater; so that the whole remittance of the last year for duties on tea and wines, and other articles taxed indirectly, amounted to no more than eighty-five or eighty pounds; while ships and soldiers for the support of the collecting officers had cost some hundred thousands, and the East India company had lost the sale of goods to the amount of two and a half millions of dollars annually.

England was growing weary of the fruitless strife. Lord North wished it at an end; and Dartmouth, instead of thinking to appeal to parliament for stringent measures, desired the king to "reign in the affections of his people," and would have regarded conciliation as "the happiest event of his life." A member of parliament, having discovered through John Temple that every perverse "measure and every grievance complained of took their rise not from the British government, but were projected, proposed to administration, solicited, and obtained by some of the most respectable among the Americans themselves, as necessary for the welfare of that country," endeavored to convince Franklin of the well-ascertained fact. Franklin

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Dec.

remaining skeptical, he returned in a few days with letters from Hutchinson, Oliver, and Paxton, written to produce coercion. These had been addressed to Whately, who had communicated them to Grenville, his patron, and through him to Lord Temple. They had been handed about, that they might more certainly promote the design of their writers, and at Whately's death remained in the possession of others.

These, which were but very moderate specimens of a most persevering and most extensive correspondence of a like nature, Franklin was authorized to send to his constituents, not for publication, but to be retained for some months, and perused by the corresponding committee of the legislature, by members of the council, and by some few others to whom the chairman of that committee might think proper to show them.

Had the conspiracy, which was thus laid bare, aimed at the life of a minister or the king, any honest man must have immediately communicated the discovery to the secretary of state; to conspire to introduce into America a military government, and abridge American liberty, was a more heinous crime, of which irrefragable evidence had come to light. Franklin, as agent of Massachusetts, made himself the public accuser of those whose guilt was now exposed; and, in an official letter, sent the proofs of their designs to the speaker of the Massachusetts house of representatives, with no concealment or reservation but such as his informer had required. "All good men," wrote Franklin, as he forwarded the letters, "wish harmony to subsist between the colonies and the mother country. My resentment against this country for its arbitrary measures in governing us has been exceedingly abated, since my conviction by these papers that those measures were projected, advised, and called for by men of character among ourselves. I think they must have the same effect with you. As to the writers, when I find them bartering away the liberties of their native country for posts, negotiating for salaries and pensions extorted from the people, and, conscious of the odium these might be attended with, calling for troops to

protect and secure the enjoyment of them ; when I see them exciting jealousies in the crown, and provoking it to wrath against so great a part of its most faithful subjects ; creating enmities between the different countries of which the empire consists ; occasioning a great expense to the old country for suppressing or preventing imaginary rebellions in the new, and to the new country for the payment of needless gratifications to useless officers and enemies, — I cannot but doubt their sincerity even in the political principles they profess, and deem them mere time-servers, seeking their own private emoluments through any quantity of public mischief ; betrayers of the interest not of their native country only, but of the government they pretend to serve, and of the whole English empire."

While the letters were on their way, the towns in the province were coming together under the invitation from Boston. The people of Marblehead, whose fishermen were returned from their annual excursion to the Grand Banks, at a full meeting, with but one dissentient, expressed "their unavoidable disesteem and reluctant irreverence for the British parliament ;" their sense of the "great and uncommon kind of grievance" of being compelled "to carry the produce of Spain and Portugal, received for their fish, to Great Britain, and there paying duties ;" how "justly they were incensed at the unconstitutional, unrighteous proceedings" of ministers ; how they "detested the name of a Hillsborough ;" how ready they were to "unite for the recovery of their violated rights ;" and, like Rox-
bury and Plymouth, they appointed their committee.

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Nov.

Warren, of Plymouth, was desponding. "The towns," said he, "are dead, and cannot be raised without a miracle." "I am very sorry to find in you the least approach towards despair," answered Adams. "*Nil desperandum* is a motto for you and me. All are not dead ; and where there is a spark of patriotic fire we will rekindle it." The patriot's confidence was justified. In Plymouth itself, "there were ninety to one to fight Great Britain."

In December, the people of Cambridge, in a full
meeting, expressed themselves "much concerned to
Dec.

maintain and secure their own invaluable rights, which were not the gift of kings, but purchased with the precious blood and treasure of their ancestors ;” and they “discovered a glorious spirit, like men determined to be free.” Roxbury, which had moved with deliberation, found “the rights of the colonists fully supported and warranted by the laws of God and nature, the New Testament, and the charter of the province.” “Our pious forefathers,” said they, “died with the pleasing hope that we their children should live free ; let none, as they will answer it another day, disturb the ashes of those heroes by selling their birthright.”

1172. On Monday the twenty-eighth of December, towns
Dec. were in session from the Kennebec to Buzzard’s Bay. The people of Charlestown beheld their own welfare “and the fate of unborn millions in suspense.” “It will not be long,” said Rochester, “before our assembling for the cause of liberty will be determined to be riotous, and every attempt to prevent the flood of despotism from overflowing our land will be deemed open rebellion.” Woolwich, “an infant people in an infant country,” did not “think their answer perfect in spelling or the words placed,” yet hearty good feeling got the better of their false shame. Does any one ask who had precedence in proposing a union of the colonies, and a war for independence ? The thoughts were the offspring of the time, and were in every patriot’s breast. It were as well to ask which tree in the forest is the earliest to feel the reviving year. The first official utterance of revolution did not spring from a congress of the colonies, or the future chiefs of the republic ; from the rich who falter, or the learned who weigh and debate. The people of the little interior town of Pembroke in Plymouth county, unpretending husbandmen, full of the glory of their descent from the pilgrims, concluded a clear statement of their grievances with the prediction that, “if the measures so justly complained of were persisted in and enforced by fleets and armies, they must, they will, in a little time issue in the total dissolution of the union between the mother country and the colonies ;” and in a louder tone the free-men of Gloucester declared their readiness to stand for

their rights and liberties, which were dearer to them than their lives, and to join with all others in an appeal to the Great Lawgiver, not doubting of success according to the justice of their cause.

Salisbury, a small town on the Merrimack, counselled an American union. Ipswich, in point of numbers the second town in the province, advised "that the colonies in general and the inhabitants of their province in particular, should stand firm as one man, to support and maintain all their just rights and privileges." In the course of December, the Earl of Chatham was reading several New England writings "with admiration and love;" among others, an election sermon by Tucker, in which he found "the divine Sydney rendered practical, and the philosophical Locke more demonstrative;" and, on the very same 1772.
Dec. day, the people of the town of Chatham, at the extremity of Cape Cod, were declaring their "civil and religious principles to be the sweetest and essential part of their lives, without which the remainder was scarcely worth preserving."

Hutchinson called for aid from parliament. But the excitement increased still more, when it became known that Thurlow and Wedderburn had reported the burning of the "Gaspee" to be a crime of a much deeper dye than piracy, and that the king, by the advice of his privy council, had ordered its authors and abettors to be delivered to Rear-admiral Montagu, and, with the witnesses, brought for "condign punishment" to England. To send an American across the Atlantic for trial for his life was an intolerable violation of justice; Hutchinson urged what was worse, to abrogate the Rhode Island charter. In this hour of greatest peril, the men of Rhode Island, by the hands of Darius Sessions, their deputy governor, and Stephen Hopkins, their chief justice, appealed to Samuel Adams for advice. And he answered immediately that the occasion "should awaken the American colonies, and again unite them in one band; that an attack upon the liberties of one colony was an attack upon the liberties of all, and that therefore in this instance all should be ready to yield assistance."

Employing this event also to contribute to the great purpose of a general union, the Boston committee, as the year went out, were "encouraged, by the people's thorough understanding of their civil and religious rights and liberties, to trust in God that a day was hastening when the efforts of the colonists would be crowned with success, and the present generation furnish an example of public virtue worthy the imitation of all posterity."

1773. In a like spirit, the eventful year of 1773 was rung
Jan. in by the men of Marlborough. "Death," said they unanimously, on the first of January, "is more eligible than slavery. A free-born people are not required by the religion of Jesus Christ to submit to tyranny, but may make use of such power as God has given them to recover and support their laws and liberties." And, advising all the colonies to prepare for war, they "implored the Ruler above the skies that he would make bare his arm in defence of his church and people, and let Israel go."

"As we are in a remote wilderness corner of the earth, we know but little," said the farmers of Lenox; "but neither nature nor the God of nature require us to crouch, Issachar-like, between the two burdens of poverty and slavery." "We prize our liberties so highly," thus spoke the men of Leicester, with the districts of Spencer and Paxton, "that we think it our duty to risk our lives and fortunes in defence thereof." "For that spirit of virtue which induced your town at so critical a day to take the lead in so good a cause," wrote the town of Petersham, "our admiration is heightened, when we consider your being exposed to the first efforts of power. The time may come when you may be driven from your goodly heritage; if that should be the case, we invite you to share with us in our small supplies of the necessities of life; and, should we still not be able to withstand, we are determined to retire, and seek repose amongst the inland aboriginal natives, with whom we doubt not but to find more humanity and brotherly love than we have lately received from our mother country." "We join with the town of Petersham," was the reply of Boston, "in preferring a life among the

savages to the most splendid condition of slavery; but Heaven will bless the united efforts of a brave people."

"It is only some people in the Massachusetts Bay making a great clamor, in order to keep their party alive," wrote time-servers to Dartmouth, begging for further grants of salaries, and blind to the awakening of a nation. "This unhappy contest between Britain and America," wrote Samuel Adams, "will end in rivers of blood; but America may wash her hands in innocence." 1773.
Jan.

Informing Rhode Island of the design of "administration to get their charter vacated," he advised them to make delay, without conceding any of their rights; and to address the assemblies of all the other colonies for support.

CHAPTER XLIX.

VIRGINIA CONSOLIDATES UNION.

JANUARY—JULY, 1773.

ON the sixth of January, the day on which the legislature of Massachusetts assembled at Boston, the affairs of America were under consideration in England. The king, who read even the semi-official letters in which Hutchinson described the Boston committee of correspondence as in part composed of "deacons" and "atheists," and "black-hearted fellows whom one would not choose to meet in the dark," "very much approved the temper and firmness" of his governor, and was concerned lest "the inhabitants of Boston should be deluded into acts of disobedience, and the most atrocious criminality towards individuals;" he found "consolation" in the assurance that "the influence of the malignant spirits was daily decreasing," and "that their mischievous tenets were held in abhorrence by the generality of the people." But already eighty towns or more, including almost every one of the larger towns, had chosen their committees; and Samuel Adams was planning how to effect a union of all the colonies in congress. When the assembly met, the speaker transmitted the proceedings of the town of Boston for organizing the provincial committees of correspondence to Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia.

The governor, in his speech to the two houses, with calculating malice summoned them to admit or disprove the supremacy of parliament. The disorder in the government he attributed to the denial of that supremacy, which he undertook to establish by arguments derived from the history of the colony, its charter, and English law. "I know

of no line," he said, "that can be drawn between the supreme authority of parliament and the total independence of the colonies. It is impossible there should be two independent legislatures in one and the same state." He therefore invited the legislature to adhere to his principles or convince him of his error. Elated with vanity, he was sure in any event of a victory; for, if they should disown the opinions of the several towns, he would gain glory in England; if they should avow them, then, said he in a letter which was to go straight to the king, "I shall be enabled to make apparent the reasonableness and necessity of coercion, and justify it to all the world."

1773.
Jan.

The speech was printed and industriously circulated in England, and for a short time made an impression on the minds of many not well acquainted with the dispute. His hearers in Boston saw his indiscretion, and Samuel Adams prepared to "take the fowler in his own snare." No man in the province had reflected so much as he on the question of the legislative power of parliament; no man had so early arrived at the total denial of that power. For nine years, he had been seeking an opportunity of promulgating that denial as the opinion of the assembly; and caution had always stood in his way. At last, the opportunity had come; and the assembly, with one consent, placed the pen in his hand.

Meantime, the towns of Massachusetts were still vibrating from the impulse given by Boston. "The swords which we whet and brightened for our enemies are not yet grown rusty," wrote the town of Gorham. "We offer our lives as a sacrifice in the glorious cause of liberty," was the response of Kittery. "We will not sit down easy," voted Shirley, "until our rights and liberties are restored." The people of Medfield would also "have a final period put to that most cruel, inhuman, and unchristian practice, the slave-trade." Acton spoke out concisely and firmly. "Prohibiting slitting-mills," said South Hadley, "is similar to the Philistines prohibiting smiths in Israel, and shews we are esteemed by our brethren as vassals." "We think ourselves obliged to emerge from our former obscurity, and

“speak our minds with freedom,” declared Lunenburg, “or our posterity may otherwise rise up and curse us.” “We of this place are unanimous,” was the message from
1773. Jan. Pepperell; “our resentment riseth against those who dare invade our natural and constitutional rights.”

With one voice they named Captain William Prescott to be the chief of their committee of correspondence; and no braver heart beat in Middlesex than his. Lynn called for a provincial convention; Stoneham invited the sister colonies to harmony; Danvers would have “strict union of all the provinces on the continent.” “Digressions from compacts,” said the men of Princeton, “lessen the connection between the mother country and the colonies.”

South Carolina, too remote for immediate concert, was engaged in the same cause. Its assembly elected Rawlins Lowndes their speaker. The governor “directed the assembly to return to their house and choose another;” and, as they persisted in their first choice, he prorogued them, and did it in so illegal a manner that, as a remedy, he dissolved them by a proclamation, and immediately issued writs for choosing a new house; thus carrying the subject home to the thoughts of every voter in the province.

This controversy was local; the answers of the legislature of Massachusetts to its governor’s challenge would be of general importance. That of the council, drafted by Bowdoin, clearly traced the existing discontents to the acts of parliament, subjecting the colonies to taxes without their consent. The removal of this original cause would remove its effects. Supreme or unlimited authority can with fitness belong only to the Sovereign of the universe; from the nature and end of government, the supreme authority of every government is limited; and from the laws of England, its constitution, and the provincial charter, it was shown that the limits of that authority did not include the levying of taxes within the province. Thus the council conceded nothing, and at the same time avoided a conflict with the opinions of Chatham, Camden, and Shelburne.

The house in their reply, which Samuel Adams, aided by the sound legal knowledge of Hawley, had constructed with

his utmost skill at sarcasm, and which, after two days' debate, was unanimously adopted and carried up by its author, chose a different mode of dealing with the governor's positions. Like the council, they traced the disturbed state of government to taxation of the colonists by parliament; but, as to the supremacy of that body, they took the governor at his word. "It is difficult, perhaps impossible," they agreed, "to draw a line of distinction between the universal authority of parliament over the colonies, and no authority at all;" and laying out all their strength to prove the only point which Hutchinson's statement required to be proved, that that authority was not universal, they opened the door to his own inference. "If there be no such line," said they, "between the supreme authority of parliament and the total independence of the colonies, then either the colonies are vassals of the parliament or they are totally independent. As it cannot be supposed to have been the intention of the parties in the compact that one of them should be reduced to a state of vassalage, the conclusion is that it was their sense that we were thus independent." "But it is impossible," the governor had insisted, "that there should be two independent legislatures in one and the same state." "Then," replied the house, "the colonies were by their charters made distinct states from the mother country." "Although there may be but one head, the king," Hutchinson had said, "yet the two legislative bodies will make two governments as distinct as the kingdoms of England and Scotland before the union." "Very true, may it please your excellency," replied the house; 1773.
Jan. "and, if they interfere not with each other, what hinders but that, being united in one head and sovereign, they may live happily in that connection, and mutually support and protect each other?"

"But is there any thing," the governor had asked, "which we have more reason to dread than independence?" And the house answered: "There is more reason to dread the consequences of absolute uncontrolled power, whether of a nation or of a monarch." "To draw the line of distinction," they continue, "between the supreme authority of parlia-

ment and the total independence of the colonies would be an arduous undertaking, and of very great importance to all the other colonies; and therefore, could we conceive of such a line, we should be unwilling to propose it, without their consent in congress."

Having thus won an unsparing victory over the logic of Hutchinson by accepting all his premises and fitting to them other and apter conclusions, they rebuked the governor for having reduced them to the alternative
1773.
Jan. either of appearing by silence to acquiesce in his sentiments or of freely discussing the supreme authority of parliament.

The governor was overwhelmed with confusion. He had intended to drive them into a conflict with parliament; and they had denied its supremacy by implication from his own premises, in a manner that could bring censure on no one but himself.

During this controversy, a commission, composed of Admiral Montagu, the vice-admiralty judge at Boston, the chief justices of Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey, and the governor of Rhode Island, met at Newport to inquire into the affair of the "Gaspee." Deputy Governor Sessions and Stephen Hopkins, formerly governor, now chief justice, were the two pillars on which Rhode Island liberty depended. They notified the commissioners that there had been no neglect of duty or connivance on the part of the provincial government; from which it followed that the presence of the special court was as unnecessary as it was alarming.

The assembly having met at East Greenwich to watch the commissioners, the governor laid before it his instructions to arrest offenders and send them for trial to England. The order excited general horror and indignation. The chief justice asked directions how he should act. The assembly referred him to his discretion. "Then," said Hopkins, in the presence of both houses, "for the purpose of transportation for trial, I will neither apprehend any person by my own order, nor suffer any executive officers in the colony to do it." "The people would not have borne

an actual seizure of persons," which "nothing but an armed force could have effected."

The commissioners elicited nothing, and adjourned with bitterness in their hearts. Smyth, the chief justice of New Jersey, who had just been put on the civil list, threw all blame on the popular government of Rhode Island. Horsmanden advised to take away the charter of that province, and of Connecticut also, and consolidate the "twins in one royal government." Yet Connecticut, the land of steady habits, was at that day the most orderly and quietly governed people in the world; and the charter of Rhode Island, in spite of all its enemies, had vitality enough to outlast the unreformed house of commons.

The doctrines of Massachusetts extended to other colonies. Hutchinson was embarrassed by the controversy which he had provoked, and would now willingly have ended. Meantime, the house made the usual grants to the justices of the superior court; but the governor refused his assent, because he expected warrants for their salaries from the king. The house replied: "No judge, who has a due regard to justice or even to his own character, would choose to be placed under such an undue bias as they must be under by accepting their salaries of the crown. We are more and more convinced that it has been the design of administration totally to subvert the constitution, and introduce an arbitrary government into this province; and we cannot wonder that the apprehensions of this people are thoroughly awakened." The towns of Massachusetts were all the while continuing their meetings. "The judges," said the men of Eastham, "must reject the detestable plan with abhorrence, if they would have their memories blessed." "We deny the parliamentary power of taxing us, being without the realm of England and not represented there," declared Stoughtenham. "Let the colonies stand firm as one man," voted Winchendon. "Divine Providence and the necessity of things may call upon us and all the colonies to make our last appeal," wrote the farmers who dwelt on the bleak hills of New Salem.

Yet Hutchinson seemed compelled to renew his discus-

sion with the legislature; and in a long argument, which contained little that was new, endeavored to prove that the colony of Massachusetts was holden as feudatory of the imperial crown of England, and was therefore under the government of the king's laws and the king's court. Again Bowdoin for the council, with still greater clearness, affirms that parliamentary taxation is unconstitutional, because imposed without consent; again Samuel Adams for the house, aided briefly, in Hawley's temporary absence, by the strong natural powers and good knowledge of the laws of John Adams, proves from the governor's own premises that parliament has no supremacy over the colony, because the feudal system admits no idea of the authority of parliament.

At the same time, both parties looked beyond the province for aid. Hutchinson sought to intimidate his antagonists, by telling them "that the English nation would be roused, and could not be withstood;" that "parliament would, by some means or other, maintain its supremacy." To his correspondents in England, he sent word what measures should be chosen; advising a change in the political organization of towns, a prohibition of the commerce of Boston, and the option to the province between submission and the forfeiture of their rights. "I wish," said he, "government may be convinced that something is necessary to be done." "We want a full persuasion that parliament will maintain its supremacy at all events." "Without it, the opposition here will triumph more than ever."

1773.
March. The people on their part drew from their institution of committees of correspondence throughout the province the hope of a union of all the colonies. "Some future congress," said they, "will be the glorious source of the salvation of America; the Amphictyons of Greece, who formed the diet or great council of the states, exhibit an excellent model for the rising Americans."

Whether that great idea should become a reality rested on Virginia. Its legislature came together on the fourth of March. Its members had authentic information of the proceedings of the town of Boston; and public rumors had reached them of the commission for inquiry into the affairs

of Rhode Island. They had read and approved of the answers which the council and the house of Massachusetts had made in January to the speech of Hutchinson. They formed themselves, therefore, into a committee of the whole house on the state of the colony; and in that committee Dabney Carr, of Charlotte, a young statesman of brilliant genius as well as fervid patriotism, moved a series of resolutions for a system of intercolonial committees of correspondence. His plan included a thorough union of councils throughout the continent. If it should succeed and be adopted by the other colonies, America would stand before the world as a confederacy. The measure was supported by Richard Henry Lee, with an eloquence which never passed away from the memory of his hearers; by Patrick Henry, with more commanding majesty. The assembly did what greatness of mind counselled; and they did it quietly, as if it were but natural to them to act with magnanimity. On Friday the twelfth of March, the resolutions were reported to the house and unanimously adopted. They appointed their committee, on which appear the names of Bland and Lee, of Henry and Carr and Jefferson. Their resolves were sent to every colony, with a request that each would appoint its committee to communicate from time to time with that of Virginia. In this manner, Virginia laid the foundation of our union. Massachusetts organized a province; Virginia promoted a confederacy. Were the several committees to come together, the world would see an American congress.

The associates of Dabney Carr were spared for further service to humanity. He himself was cut down in his prime and passed away like a shadow; but the name of him who at this moment of crisis beckoned the colonies onward to union must not perish from the memory of his countrymen.

The effect of these resolutions of the Old Dominion was decisive. In Massachusetts, they gladdened every heart. "Virginia and South Carolina, by their steady perseverance," inspired the hope that the fire of liberty would spread through the continent. "A con-

1773.
April.

gress and then an assembly of states," reasoned Samuel Adams, is no longer "a mere fiction in the mind of a political enthusiast." What though "the British nation
1773.
April. carry their liberties to market, and sell them to the highest bidder?" "America," said he, repeating the words of Arthur Lee, "America shall rise full plumed and glorious from the mother's ashes."

A copy of the proceedings of Virginia was sent to every town and district in Massachusetts, that "all the friends of American independence and freedom" might welcome the intelligence; and, as one meeting after another echoed back the advice for a congress, they could hardly find words to express how their gloom had given way to light, and how "their hearts even leapt for joy." "We trust the day is not far distant," said Cambridge, by the hand of Thomas Gardner, "when our rights and liberties shall be restored unto us, or the colonies, united as one man, will make their most solemn appeal to Heaven, and drive tyranny from these northern climes."

"The colonies must assert their liberties whenever the opportunity offers," wrote Dickinson from Pennsylvania. The opportunity was nearer than he thought; in England, Chatham saw plainly that "things were hastening to a crisis at Boston, and looked forward to the issue with very painful anxiety." It was the king who precipitated the conflict. He had no dread of the interposition of France, for that power, under the ministry of the day, feared lest the enfranchisement of the Anglo-American colonies should create a dangerous rival power to itself, and was eager to fortify the good understanding with England by a defensive treaty, or at least by a treaty of commerce. Louis XV. was resolved at all events to avoid war.

From the time, therefore, that the representatives of Massachusetts avowed their legislative independence, the king dismissed the thought of obtaining obedience "by argument and persuasion." The most thorough search was made into every colonial law that checked or even seemed to check the slave-trade; and an act of Virginia, which put no more obstructions upon it than had existed

for a generation, was negatived. Parliamentary taxation was also to be enforced.

The continued refusal of North America to receive tea from England had brought distress upon the East India company, which had on hand wanting a market great quantities imported in the faith that that agreement could not hold. They were able to pay neither their dividends nor their debts; their stock depreciated nearly one half; and the government must lose their annual payment of four hundred thousand pounds. The bankruptcies, brought on partly by this means, gave such a shock to credit as had not been experienced since the South Sea year; and the great manufacturers were sufferers. The directors came to parliament with an ample confession of their humbled state, together with entreaties for assistance and relief; and particularly praying that leave might be given to export teas free of all duties to America and to foreign ports. 1773.

Had such leave been granted in respect of America, it would have been an excellent commercial regulation, as well as have restored a good understanding to every part of the empire. April.

Instead of this, Lord North proposed to give to the company itself the right of exporting its teas. The existing law granted on their exportation to America a drawback of three fifths only of the duties paid on importation. Lord North now offered a drawback of the whole. Trecothick in the committee also advised to take off the import duty in America of threepence the pound, as it produced no income to the revenue; but the ministry would not listen to the thought of relieving America from taxation. "Then," added Trecothick in behalf of the East India company, "as much or more may be brought into the revenue by not allowing a full exemption from the duties paid here." But Lord North refused to discuss the right of parliament to tax America; insisting that no difficulty could arise, that under the new regulation America would be able to buy tea from the company at a lower price than from any other European nation, and that men will always go to the cheapest market.

The ministry was still in its halcyon days ; no opposition was made even by the whigs ; and the measure, which was the king's own, and was designed to put America to the test, took effect as a law from the tenth of May.

1773.
May. It was immediately followed by a most carefully prepared answer from the king to petitions from Massachusetts, announcing that he "considered his authority to make laws in parliament of sufficient force and validity to bind his subjects in America in all cases whatsoever, as essential to the dignity of the crown, and a right appertaining to the state, which it was his duty to preserve entire and inviolate ;" that he, therefore, "could not but be greatly displeased with the petitions and remonstrance in which that right was drawn into question ;" but that he "imputed the unwarrantable doctrines held forth in the said petitions and remonstrance to the artifices of a few." All this while, Lord Dartmouth "had a true desire to see lenient measures adopted towards the colonies," not being in the least aware that he was drifting with the cabinet towards the system of coercion.

In America, men began to prepare for extreme measures. "Glorious Virginia !" cried the legislature of Rhode Island, glowing with admiration for "its patriotic and illustrious house of burgesses ;" and this New England province was the first to follow the example of the Old Dominion, by electing its committees and sending its circular through the land.

In Massachusetts, so soon as the government for the year was organized, the house, on the motion of Samuel Adams, and by a vote of one hundred and nine to four, expressed its gratitude to the burgesses of Virginia for their uniform vigilance, firmness, and wisdom, and its hearty concurrence in their judicious and spirited resolves. And then it elected its committee of correspondence, fifteen in number. New Hampshire and Connecticut did the same, so that all New England and Virginia were now one political body, with an organization inchoate, yet so perfect that on the first emergency they could convene a congress. Every other colony on the continent was sure to follow their example.

While the patriot party was cheered by the hope of union, the letters of Hutchinson and Oliver, which Franklin had sent over to the speaker of the Massachusetts assembly, destroyed their moral power by exposing their duplicity. "Cool, thinking, deliberate villains; malicious and vindictive, as well as ambitious and avaricious," said John Adams, who this year was chosen into the council, but negatived by the governor. "Bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, born and educated among us," cried others. Hancock, who was angry at being named in the correspondence, determined to lay bare their hypocrisy; and Cooper from the pulpit preached of "the old serpent, which deceiveth the whole world; but was cast out into the earth, and his angels with him."

1773.
June.

The letters had circulated privately in the province for more than two months, when, on the second of June, Samuel Adams read them to the house in secret session. They were by no means among the worst which their authors had written; but they showed a thorough complicity with Bernard and the commissioners of the customs, to bring military sway into the province, and to abridge colonial liberties by the interposition of parliament. The house after a debate voted, by one hundred and one against five, "that the tendency and design of the letters was to subvert the constitution of the government, and to introduce arbitrary power into the province." "I have never wrote any public or private letter that tends to subvert the constitution," was Hutchinson's message the next day.

The house, on the fourth, sent him a transcript of their proceedings, with the date of his letters that were before them; and asked for copies of these, and such others as he should think proper to communicate. "If you desire copies with a view to make them public," answered Hutchinson, after five days' reflection, "the originals are more proper for that purpose than the copies;" and he refused to communicate other letters, declaring that it had not been the design of them "to subvert the constitution of the government, but rather to preserve it entire." Then, conscious of guilt, he by the very next packet sent word to his con-

fidential friend in London to burn such of his letters as might raise a clamor; for, said he, "I have wrote what ought not to be made public."

He had written against every part of the constitution, the elective character of the council, the annual choice of the assembly, the New England organization of the towns; had advised and solicited the total dependence of the judiciary on the crown; had hinted at making the experiment of declaring martial law, and of abrogating English liberty; had advised to the restraint of the commerce of Boston and the exclusion of the province from the fisheries; had urged the immediate suppression of the charter of Rhode Island; had for years "been begging for measures to maintain the supremacy of parliament," by making the denial of that supremacy a capital felony: and all for the sake of places for his family, and a salary and a pension for himself. To corrupt pure and good and free political institutions of a happy country, and infuse into its veins the slow poison of tyranny, is the highest crime against humanity. And how terribly was he punished! For what is life without the esteem of one's fellow-men! Had he been but honest, how New England would have cherished his memory! Now his gray hairs, which should ever be kept purer than the ermine, were covered with shame; his ambition was defeated, and he suffered all the tortures of avarice trembling for the loss of place. It was Hancock who, taking advantage of the implied permission of Hutchinson, produced to the house copies of the letters, which were then published and scattered throughout New England and the continent.

1773.
June.

A series of resolves was adopted, expressing their true meaning, and was followed by a petition to the king that he would remove Hutchinson and Oliver for ever from the government. The council in like manner, after a thorough analysis of the real intent of the correspondence, joined in the same prayer. So great unanimity had never been known.

Timid from nature, from age, and from an accusing conscience, Hutchinson bowed to the storm, and expressed his desire to resign. "I hope," he said, "I shall not be left

destitute, to be insulted and triumphed over. I fall in the cause of government; and, whenever it shall be thought proper to supersede me, I hope for some appointment;" and, calumniating Franklin as one who wished to supplant him in the government of Massachusetts, he made interest for Franklin's desirable office of deputy postmaster-general.

All the summer long, the insidious letters that had come to light circulated through the province, and were discussed by the single-minded country people during the week, as they made hay or gathered in the early harvest; on Sundays, the ministers discoursed on them, and poured out their hearts in prayer for the preservation of their precious inheritance of liberty. "We devote not only what little we have in the world," said the people of Pearisontown, "but even our lives, to vindicate rights so dearly purchased by our ancestors." The town of Abington became convinced that the boasted connection with Great Britain was "not worth a rush." The natural right of mankind to improve the form of government under which they live was inculcated from the pulpit; and, at the time when the pope was abolishing the order of the Jesuits, some of the clergy of Boston predicted that "in fifteen years" the people of America would mould for themselves a new constitution.

CHAPTER L.

THE BOSTON TEA-PARTY.

AUGUST—DECEMBER, 1773.

THE East India company, who were now by act of parliament authorized to export tea to America entirely
1773. duty free in England, applied to the treasury in Au-
Aug. gust for the necessary license. They were warned by Americans that their adventure would end in loss, and some difficulties occurred in details; but the scruples of the company were overruled by Lord North, who answered peremptorily: "It is to no purpose making objections, for the king will have it so. The king means to try the question with America."

Sept. The time was short; the danger to Boston imminent; resistance at all hazards was the purpose of its committee of correspondence; violent resistance might become necessary; and to undertake it without a certainty of union would only bring ruin on the town and on the cause.

A congress, therefore, on "the plan of union proposed by Virginia," was the fixed purpose of Samuel Adams. He would have no delay, no waiting for increased strength; for, said he, "when our liberty is gone, history and experience will teach us that an increase of inhabitants will be but an increase of slaves." Through the press, he appealed to the continent for a congress, in order to insist effectually upon such terms with England as would not admit for the interior government of the colonies any other authority than that of their respective legislatures. It was not possible to join issue with the king more precisely.

The first difficulty to be overcome existed in Boston itself.

Cushing, the speaker, who had received a private letter from Dartmouth, and was lulled into confiding in "the noble and generous sentiments" of that minister, advised that for the time the people should bear their grievances. "Our natural increase in wealth and population," said he, "will in a course of years settle this dispute in our favor; whereas, if we persist in denying the right of parliament to legislate for us, they may think us extravagant in our demands, and there will be great danger of bringing on a rupture fatal to both countries." He thought the redress of grievances would more surely come, "if these high points about the supreme authority of parliament were to fall asleep." Against this feeble advice, the Boston committee of correspondence aimed at the union of the province, and "the confederacy of the whole continent of America." They refused to waive the claim of right, which could only divide the Americans in sentiment and confuse their counsels. "What oppressions," they asked, in their circular to all the other towns, "may we not expect in another seven years, if through a weak credulity, while the most arbitrary measures are still persisted in, we should be prevailed upon to submit our rights, as the patriotic Farmer expresses it, to the tender mercies of the ministry? Watchfulness, unity, and harmony are necessary to the salvation of ourselves and posterity from bondage. We have an animating confidence in the Supreme Disposer of events, that he will never suffer a sensible, brave, and virtuous people to be enslaved."

Sure of Boston and its committee, Samuel Adams next conciliated the favoring judgment of the patriot Hawley, whose influence in the province was deservedly great, and who had shared with him the responsibility of the measures of the assembly. "I submit to you my ideas at this time, because matters seem to me to be drawing to a crisis." Such were his words on the fourth and the thirteenth of October. "The present administration, even though the very good Lord Dartmouth is one of them, are as fixed as any of their predecessors in their resolution to carry their favorite point, an acknowledgment of

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the right of parliament to make laws binding us in all cases whatever. Some of our politicians would have
1773.
Oct. the people believe that administration are disposed or determined to have all the grievances which we complain of redressed, if we will only be quiet; but this would be a fatal delusion. If the king himself should make any concessions, or take any steps contrary to the right of parliament to tax us, he would be in danger of embroiling himself with the ministry. Under the present prejudices, even the recalling an instruction to the governor is not likely to be advised. The subject-matter of our complaint is not that a burden greater than our proportion was laid upon us by parliament,—such a complaint we might have made without questioning the authority of parliament,—but that the parliament has assumed and exercised the power of taxing us. His majesty, in his answer to our late petitions, implies that the parliament is the supreme legislature, and that its authority over the colonies is the constitution. All allow the minister in the American department to be a good man. The great men in England have an opinion of us as being a mightily religious people, and suppose that we shall place an entire confidence in a minister of the same character. In fact, how many were filled with the most sanguine expectations when they heard that the good Lord Dartmouth was intrusted with a share in administration. Yet without a greatness of mind equal, perhaps superior, to his goodness, it will be impossible for him singly to stem the torrent of corruption. This requires much more fortitude than I yet believe he is possessed of. The safety of the Americans depends upon their pursuing their wise plan of union in principle and conduct.”

Such were the thoughts which Samuel Adams unbosomed to his faithful fellow-laborer. The press, which he directed, continued to demand an annual “congress of American states to frame a bill of rights,” or to “form an independent state, an American commonwealth.” Union, then, union, was the first, the last, the only hope for America. Massachusetts, where the overruling will of Samuel Adams swayed the feebler politicians, was thoroughly united. But

that was not enough; "we must have a convention of all the colonies," he would say to his friends; and the measure was recognised by the royalists as "of all others the most likely to kindle a general flame." His advice was confirmed by the concurrent opinion of Franklin, to whose "greatness" he had publicly paid a tribute. His influence brought even Cushing to act as one of a select committee with himself and Heath of Roxbury; and they sent forth a secret circular, summoning all the colonies to be prepared to assert their rights, when time and circumstances should give to their claim the surest prospect of success. "And when we consider," they said, "how one great event has hurried on after another, such a time may come and such circumstances take place sooner than we are now aware of." They advised to contentment with no temporary relief. They explained that the king would certainly maintain the power of parliament to extort and to appropriate a tribute from the colonies; that the connection between Great Britain and America should be broken, unless it could be perpetuated on the terms of equal liberty; that the necessary contest must be entered upon while 1773.
Oct. "the ideas of liberty" were strong in men's minds; and they closed with desiring each colony to resist the designs of the English ministry in allowing the East India company to ship its teas to America.

That company was already despatching its consignments simultaneously to Charleston, to Philadelphia, to New York, and to Boston. The system gave universal offence, not only as an enforcement of the tax on tea, but also as an odious monopoly of trade. Philadelphia, the largest town in the colonies, began the work of prevention. Its inhabitants met on the eighteenth of October in great numbers at the state house, and in eight resolutions denied the claim of parliament to tax America; specially condemned the duty on tea; declared every one who should, directly or indirectly, countenance its imposition, an enemy to his country; and requested the agents of the East India company to resign. The movement was so general and so commanding, that the agents, some cheerfully, others re-

luctantly, gave up their appointment. Within a few days, not one remained.

South Carolina, by her spirit and perseverance, gave as she had ever done evidence that her patriotism would be the support of union. The province was at that time in a state of just excitement at the arbitrary act of its council in imprisoning Thomas Powell, the publisher of the "South Carolina Gazette," for an alleged contempt. The council was a body in which the distinguished men of that province scorned to accept a seat; its members were chiefly the crown officers, and held their places at the king's pleasure. Their power to imprison on their mere warrant was denied; the prisoner was taken before Rawlins Lowndes and another magistrate on a writ of habeas corpus, and was released. The questions involved in the case were discussed with heat; but they did not divert attention from watching the expected tea-ships.

The "ideas of liberty," on which resistance was to be founded, had taken deep root in a soil which the circular of Massachusetts did not reach. The people of
1773. Illinois were most opportunely sending their last
Nov. message respecting their choice of a government directly to Dartmouth himself. We have seen how vainly they had reasoned with Gage and Hillsborough for some of the privileges of self-direction. Here, as on other occasions, Dartmouth, with the purest intentions, adopted the policy of his predecessor. He censured "the ideas of the inhabitants of the Illinois district with regard to a civil constitution as very extravagant;" and rejected their proposition to take some part in the election of their rulers, as "absurd and inadmissible." A plan of government was therefore prepared, of great simplicity, leaving all power with the executive officers of the crown; and Gage had been summoned to England to give advice on the administration of the colonies, and especially on the mode of governing the west. It was on the fourth of November that the fathers of the commonwealth of Illinois, through their agent, Daniel Blouin, forwarded their protest against the proposed form, which they rejected as "oppressive and absurd,"

"much worse than that of any of the French or even the Spanish colonies." "Should a government so evidently tyrannical be established," such was their language to the British minister, "it could be of no long duration;" there would exist "the necessity of its being abolished." The words were nobly uttered, and were seasonable. The chord of liberty vibrated on the Illinois, and the sympathy of the western villages with freedom was an assurance that they, too, would join the great American family of republics.

The issue was to be tried at Boston; the governor himself, under the name of his sons, was selected as one of those to whom the tea-ships for that port were consigned; the moment for the decision was hastening on. In the night between the first and second of November, a knock 1773.
Nov. was heard at the door of each of the consignees commissioned by the East India company, and a summons left for them to appear without fail at Liberty Tree on the following Wednesday, at noon, to resign their commission; printed notices were also posted up, desiring the freemen of Boston and the neighboring towns to meet at the same time and place as witnesses.

On the appointed day, a large flag was hung out on the pole at Liberty Tree; the bells in the meeting-houses were rung from eleven till noon. Adams, Hancock, and Phillips, three of the four representatives of the town of Boston, the selectmen, and William Cooper, the town clerk, with about five hundred more, gathered round the spot. As the consignees did not make their appearance, the assembly, appointing Molineux, Warren, and others a committee, marched into State Street to the warehouse of Richard Clarke, where all the consignees were assembled. Molineux presented himself for a parley.

"From whom are you a committee?" asked Clarke. "From the whole people." "Who are the committee?" "I am one," replied Molineux; and he named all the rest. "And what is your request?" Molineux read a paper, requiring the consignee to promise not to sell the teas, but to return them to London in the same bottoms in

which they were shipped. "Will you comply?" "I shall have nothing to do with you," answered Clarke, roughly and peremptorily. The same question was put to the other consignees, one by one; who each and all answered: "I cannot comply with your demand." Molineux then read another paper, containing a resolve passed at Liberty Tree, that the consignees who should refuse to comply with the request of the people were enemies to their country. Descending into the street, he made his report to the people. "Out with them! out with them!" was the cry; but he dissuaded from violence.

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On the fifth, Boston, in a legal town-meeting, with Hancock for moderator, adopted the Philadelphia resolves, and then sent to invite Thomas and Elisha Hutchinson to resign their appointment; but they, and all the other consignees, declined to do so, in letters addressed to Hancock, the moderator. At this, some spoke of "taking up arms," and the words were received with clapping of hands; but the meeting only voted the answers "daringly affrontive," and then dissolved itself. On the same day, the people of New York assembled at the call of their committee of vigilance. Let the tea come free or not free of duty, they were absolutely resolved it should not be landed. After a few days' reflection, the commissioners for that city, finding the discontent universal, threw up their places; yet the Sons of Liberty continued their watchfulness; a paper signed "Legion" ordered the pilots not to bring tea-ships above the Hook; and "the Mohawks" were notified to be ready in case of their arrival. The same spirit pervaded the country people. The more than octogenarian Charles Clinton, of Ulster county, with his latest breath charged his sons "to stand by the liberties of their country."

The example of New York renewed the hope that a similar expedient might succeed in Boston. Members of the council, of greatest influence, intimated that the best thing that could be done to quiet the people would be the refusal of the consignees to execute the trust; and the merchants, though they declared against mobs and violence, generally wished that the teas might not be landed.

On the seventeenth, a ship which had made a short passage from London brought an authentic account that the Boston tea-ships had sailed; the next day, there was once more a legal town-meeting to entreat the consignees to resign. Upon their repeated refusal, the town passed no vote and uttered no opinion, but immediately broke up. The silence of the dissolution struck more terror than former menaces; for the consignees saw that henceforward they were in the hands of the committee of correspondence. On the twenty-second, the committees of Dorchester, Roxbury, Brookline, and Cambridge, met the Boston committee by invitation at the selectmen's chamber in Faneuil Hall. Their first question was: "Whether it be the mind of this committee to use their joint influence to prevent the landing and sale of the teas exported from the East India company?" And it passed in the affirmative unanimously.

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A motion next prevailed unanimously for a letter to be sent by a joint committee of the five towns to all the other towns in the province. "Brethren," they wrote, "we are reduced to this dilemma, either to sit down quiet under this and every other burden that our enemies shall see fit to lay upon us, or to rise up and resist this and every plan laid for our destruction, as becomes wise freemen. In this extremity, we earnestly request your advice."

The governor in his alarm proposed to flee to "the castle, where he might with safety to his person more freely give his sense of the criminality of the proceedings." Dissuaded from so abject a display of pusillanimity, he yet never escaped the helpless irresolution of fear. "Nothing will satisfy the people but reshipping the tea to London," said the Boston selectmen to the consignees. "It is impracticable," they answered. "Nothing short of it," said the selectmen, "will be satisfactory. Think, too, of the dreadful consequences that must in all probability ensue on its not being done." After much discussing, they "absolutely promised that, when the tea arrived, they would immediately hand in proposals to be laid before the town;" negotiating with dishonesty of purpose only to gain time.

But the people were as vigilant as they were determined.

The men of Cambridge assembled on the twenty-sixth, and, after adopting the Philadelphia resolves, "very unanimously" voted "that, as Boston was struggling for the liberties of their country, they could no longer stand idle spectators, but were ready on the shortest notice to join with it and other towns in any measure that might be thought proper, to deliver themselves and posterity from slavery." The next day, the town of Charlestown assembled, and showed such a spirit that ever after its committee was added to those who assumed the executive direction.

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The combination was hardly finished, when on Sunday, the twenty-eighth of November, the ship "Dartmouth" appeared in Boston harbor, with one hundred and fourteen chests of the East India company's tea. To keep the sabbath strictly was the New England usage. But hours were precious; let the tea be entered, and it would be beyond the power of the consignee to send it back. The selectmen held one meeting by day, and another in the evening; but they sought in vain for the consignees, who had taken sanctuary in the castle.

The committee of correspondence was more efficient. Meeting also on Sunday, they obtained from the Quaker Rotch, who owned the "Dartmouth," a promise not to enter his ship till Tuesday; and authorized Samuel Adams to invite the committees of the five surrounding towns, Dorchester, Roxbury, Brookline, Cambridge, and Charlestown, with their own townsmen and those of Boston, to hold a mass meeting the next morning. Faneuil Hall could not contain the people that poured in on Monday. The concourse was the largest ever known. Adjourning to "the Old South" meeting-house, Jonathan Williams acted as moderator, and Samuel Adams, Hancock, Young, Molineux, and Warren conducted the business of the meeting. On the motion of Samuel Adams, who entered fully into the question, the assembly, composed of upwards of five thousand persons, resolved unanimously that "the tea should be sent back to the place from whence it came at all events, and that no duty should be paid on it." "The only way to get rid of it," said Young, "is to throw it overboard." The consign-

ees asked for time to prepare their answer; and "out of great tenderness" the body postponed receiving it to the next morning. Meantime, the owner and master of the ship were convented, and forced to promise not to land the tea. A watch was also proposed. "I," said Hancock, "will be one of it, rather than that there should be none;" and a party of twenty-five persons, under the orders of Edward Proctor as its captain, was appointed to guard the tea-ship during the night.

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On the same day, the council, who had been solicited by the governor and the consignees to assume the guardianship of the tea, coupled their refusal with a reference to the declared opinion of both branches of the general court, that the tax upon it by parliament was unconstitutional. The next morning, the consignees jointly gave as their answer: "It is utterly out of our power to send back the teas; but we now declare to you our readiness to store them, until we shall receive further directions from our constituents;" that is, until they could notify the British government. The wrath of the meeting was kindling, when the sheriff of Suffolk entered, with a proclamation from the governor, "warning, exhorting, and requiring them, and each of them there unlawfully assembled, forthwith to disperse, and to surcease all further unlawful proceedings, at their utmost peril." The words were received with hisses, derision, and a unanimous vote not to disperse. "Will it be safe for the consignees to appear in the meeting?" asked Copley; and all with one voice responded that they might safely come and return; but they refused to appear. In the afternoon, Rotch the owner, and Hall the master of the "Dartmouth," yielding to an irresistible impulse, engaged that the tea should return as it came, without touching land or paying a duty. A similar promise was exacted of the owners of the other tea-ships whose arrival was daily expected. In this way "it was thought the matter would have ended." "I should be willing to spend my fortune and life itself in so good a cause," said Hancock, and this sentiment was general; they all voted "to carry their resolutions into effect at the risk of their lives and property."

Every ship-owner was forbidden, on pain of being deemed an enemy to the country, to import or bring as freight any tea from Great Britain, till the unrighteous act taxing it should be repealed; and this vote was printed, and sent to every seaport in the province, and to England.

Six persons were chosen as post-riders, to give due notice to the country towns of any attempt to land the tea by force; and the committee of correspondence, as the executive organ of the meeting, took care that a military watch was regularly kept up by volunteers armed with muskets and bayonets, who at every half hour in the night regularly passed the word, "All is well," like sentinels in a garrison. Had they been molested by night, the tolling of the bells would have been the signal for a general uprising. An account of all that had been done was sent into every town in the province.

The ships, after landing the rest of their cargo, could neither be cleared in Boston with the tea on board, nor be entered in England, and on the twentieth day from their arrival would be liable to seizure "They find themselves," said Hutchinson, "involved in invincible difficulties." Meantime, in private letters he advised to separate Boston from the rest of the province, and to commence criminal prosecutions against its patriot sons.

The spirit of the people rose with the emergency. Two more tea-ships which arrived were directed to anchor by the side of the "Dartmouth" at Griffin's Wharf, that one guard might serve for all. The people of Roxbury, on the third of December, voted that they were bound by duty to themselves and posterity to join with Boston and other sister towns, to preserve inviolate the liberties handed down by their ancestors. The next day, the men of Charlestown, as if foreseeing that their town was destined to be a holocaust, declared themselves ready to risk their lives and fortunes. On Sunday, the fifth, the committee of correspondence wrote to Portsmouth in New Hampshire, to Providence, Bristol, and Newport in Rhode Island, for advice and co-operation. On the sixth, they entreated New

York, through Macdougall and Sears, Philadelphia, through Mifflin and Clymer, to insure success by "a harmony of sentiment and concurrence in action." As for Boston itself, the twenty days were fast running out; the consignees conspired with the revenue officers to throw on the owner and master of the "Dartmouth" the whole burden of landing the tea, and would neither agree to receive it, nor give up their bill of lading, nor pay the freight.

On the ninth, there was a vast gathering at Newburyport of the inhabitants of that and the neighboring towns; and, none dissenting, they agreed to assist Boston, even at the hazard of their lives. "This is not a piece of parade," they say; "but, if an occasion should offer, a goodly number from among us will hasten to join you."

On Saturday the eleventh, Rotch, the owner of the "Dartmouth," is summoned before the Boston committee, with Samuel Adams in the chair; and asked why he has not kept his engagement, to take his vessel and the tea back to London within twenty days of its arrival. He pleaded that it was out of his power. "The ship must go," was the answer; "the people of Boston and the neighboring towns absolutely require and expect it;" and they bade him ask for a clearance and pass, with proper witnesses of his demand. "Were it mine," said a leading merchant, "I would certainly send it back." Hutchinson acquainted Admiral Montagu with what was passing; on which, the "Active" and the "Kingfisher," though they had been laid up for the winter, were sent to guard the passages out of the harbor. At the same time, orders were given by the governor to load guns at the castle, so that no vessel, except coasters, might go to sea without a permit. He had no thought of what was to happen: the wealth of Hancock, Phillips, Rowe, Dennie, and others, seemed to him a security against violence; and he flattered himself that he had increased the perplexities of the committee.

On the morning of Monday the thirteenth, the committees of the five towns were at Faneuil Hall, with that of Boston. Now that danger was really at hand, the men of the little town of Malden offered their blood

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and their treasure; for that which they once esteemed the mother country had lost the tenderness of a parent, and become their great oppressor. "We trust in God," wrote the men of Lexington, "that, should the state of our affairs require it, we shall be ready to sacrifice our estates and every thing dear in life, yea, and life itself, in support of the common cause." Whole towns in Worcester county were "on tiptoe to come down." "Go on as you have begun," wrote the committee of Leicester, on the fourteenth; "and do not suffer any of the teas already come or coming to be landed, or pay one farthing of duty. You may depend on our aid and assistance when needed."

It was intended, if possible, to get the tea carried back to London in the vessel in which it came. A meeting of the people on Tuesday afternoon directed and as it were "compelled" Rotch, the owner of the "Dartmouth," to apply for a clearance. He did so, accompanied by Kent, Samuel Adams, and eight others as witnesses. The collector was at his lodgings, and declined to answer till the next morning; the assemblage, on their part, adjourned to Thursday the sixteenth, the last of the twenty days before it would become legal for the revenue officers to take possession of the ship, and so land the teas at the castle. In the evening, the Boston committee finished their preparatory meetings. After their consultation on Monday with the committee of the five towns, they had been together that day and the next, both morning and evening; but, during the long and anxious period, their journal has only this entry: "No business transacted, matter of record."

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At ten o'clock on the fifteenth, Rotch was escorted by his witnesses to the custom house, where the collector and comptroller unequivocally and finally refused his ship a clearance, till it should be discharged of the teas.

Hutchinson began to clutch at victory; for, said he, the ship cannot pass the castle without a permit from me, and that I shall refuse. On that day, the people of Fitchburg pledged their word "never to be wanting according to their small ability;" for "they had an ambition to be known to the world and to posterity as friends to liberty."

The men of Gloucester expressed their joy at Boston's glorious opposition ; cried, with one voice, that "no tea subject to a duty should be landed in their town ;" and held themselves ready for the last appeal. The town of Portsmouth held its meeting on the morning of the sixteenth ; and, with six only protesting, its people adopted the principles of Philadelphia, appointed their committee of correspondence, and resolved to make common cause with the colonies.

Thursday the sixteenth of December, 1773, dawned upon Boston, a day by far the most momentous in its annals. Beware, little town ; count the cost, and know well if you dare defy the wrath of Great Britain, and if you love exile and poverty and death rather than submission. At ten o'clock, its people, with at least two thousand men from the country, assembled in the Old South meeting-house. A report was made that Rotch had been denied a clearance from the collector. "Then," said they to him, "protest immediately against the custom house, and apply to the governor for his pass, so that your vessel may this very day proceed on her voyage for London."

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The governor had stolen away to his country-seat at Milton. Bidding Rotch make all haste, the meeting adjourned to three in the afternoon. At that hour, Rotch had not returned. It was incidentally voted, as other towns had already done, to abstain totally from the use of tea ; and every town was advised to appoint its committee of inspection, to prevent the detested tea from being brought within any of them. Then, since the governor might refuse his pass, the momentous question recurred, "whether it be the sense and determination of this body to abide by their former resolutions with respect to the not suffering the tea to be landed." On this question, Samuel Adams and Young addressed the meeting, which was become far the most numerous ever held in Boston, embracing seven thousand men. There was among them a patriot of fervid feeling ; passionately devoted to liberty ; still young ; his eye bright, his cheek glowing with hectic fever. He knew that his strength was ebbing. The work of vindicating American

freedom must be done soon, or he will be no party to the achievement. He rises, but it is to restrain; and, being truly brave and truly resolved, he speaks the language of moderation: "Shouts and hosannas will not terminate the trials of this day, nor popular resolves, harangues, and acclamations vanquish our foes. We must be grossly ignorant of the value of the prize for which we contend, of the power combined against us, of the inveterate malice and insatiable revenge which actuate our enemies, public and private, abroad and in our bosom, if we hope that we shall end this controversy without the sharpest conflicts. Let us consider the issue before we advance to those measures

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Dec. which must bring on the most trying and terrible struggle this country ever saw." "Now that the hand is to the plough," said others, "there must be no looking back;" and the seven thousand voted unanimously that the tea should not be landed.

It had been dark for more than an hour. They knew that a delay of a few hours would place the tea under the protection of the admiral at the castle. The church in which they met was dimly lighted by candles, when at a quarter before six Rotch appeared, and related that the governor would not grant him a pass, because his ship was not properly cleared. As soon as he had finished his report, loud shouts were uttered; then Samuel Adams rose and gave the word: "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." On the instant, a cry was heard at the porch; the war-whoop resounded; a body of men, forty or fifty in number, disguised and clad in blankets as Indians, each holding a hatchet, passed by the door; and encouraged by Samuel Adams, Hancock, and others, and increased on the way to near two hundred, marched two by two to Griffin's Wharf, posted guards to prevent the intrusion of spies, took possession of the three tea-ships, and, in about three hours, three hundred and forty chests of tea, being the whole quantity that had been imported, were emptied into the bay, without the least injury to other property. "All things were conducted with great order, decency, and perfect submission to gov-

ernment." The people who looked on were so still that the noise of breaking open the tea-chests was plainly heard. After the work was done, the town became as quiet as if it had been holy time. The men from the country that very night took home the great news to their villages.

The next morning, the committee of correspondence appointed Samuel Adams and four others to draw up a declaration of what had been done. They sent Paul Revere as express with the information to New York and Philadelphia.

The joy that sparkled in the eyes and animated the countenances and the hearts of the patriots, as they met one another, is unimaginable. The governor, meantime, was consulting his books and his lawyers to make out that the resolves of the meeting were treasonable. Threats were muttered of arrests, of executions, of transporting the accused to England; while the committee of correspondence pledged themselves to support and vindicate each other and all persons who had shared in their effort. The country was united with the town, and the colonies with one another more firmly than ever. The Philadelphians unanimously approved what Boston had done. New York, all impatient at the winds which had driven its tea-ship off the coast, was resolved on following the example.

In South Carolina, the ship, with two hundred and fifty-seven chests of tea, arrived on the second of December; the spirit of opposition ran very high; but the consignees were persuaded to resign: so that though the collector after the twentieth day seized the dutiable article, there was no one to vend it or to pay the duty, and it perished in the cellars where it was stored.

Late on Saturday the twenty-fifth, news reached Philadelphia that its tea-ship was at Chester. It was met four miles below the town, where it came to anchor. On Monday, at an hour's notice, five thousand men collected in a town-meeting; at their instance, the consignee who came as passenger resigned; and the captain agreed to take his ship and cargo directly back to London, and to sail the very next day. The Quakers, though they did not appear

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openly, gave the measure every private encouragement. "The ministry had chosen the most effectual measures to unite the colonies. The Boston committee were already in close correspondence with the other New England colonies, with New York and Pennsylvania. Old jealousies were removed, and perfect harmony subsisted between all." "The heart of the king was hardened like that of Pharaoh;" and none believed he would relent. Union, therefore, was the cry; a union which should reach "from Florida to the icy plains" of Canada. "No time is to be lost," said the

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"Boston Gazette;" "a congress or a meeting of the American states is indispensable; and what the people wills shall be effected." Samuel Adams was in his glory. He had led his native town to offer itself cheerfully as a sacrifice for the liberties of mankind.

CHAPTER LI.

THE KING IN COUNCIL INSULTS THE GREAT AMERICAN
PLEBEIAN.

DECEMBER, 1773—FEBRUARY, 1774.

THE just man enduring the opprobrium of crime, yet meriting the honors due to virtue, is the sublimest spectacle that can appear on earth. Against Franklin were arrayed the court, the ministry, the parliament, and an all-pervading social influence; but he only assumed a firmer demeanor and a loftier tone. On delivering to Lord Dartmouth the address to the king for the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver, he gave assurances that the people of Massachusetts aimed at no novelties; that, "having lately discovered the authors of their grievances to be some of their own people, their resentment against Britain was thence much abated." The secretary expressed pleasure at receiving the petition, promised to lay it before the king, and hoped for the restoration "of the most perfect tranquillity and happiness." It had been the unquestionable duty of the agent of the province to communicate proof that Hutchinson and Oliver were conspiring against its constitution; to bring censure on the act, it was necessary to raise a belief that the evidence had been surreptitiously obtained; but William Whately, the banker, who was his brother's executor, was persuaded that the letters in question had never been in his hands, and refused to cast imputations on any one.

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The newspaper press was therefore employed to spread a rumor that they had been dishonestly obtained through John Temple. The anonymous calumny which was attrib-

uted to Bernard, Knox, and Mauduit, was denied by "a member of parliament," who truly affirmed that the letters which were sent to Boston had never been in the executor's hands. Again the press declared, what was also true, that Whately, the executor, had submitted files of his brother's letters to Temple's examination, who, it was insinuated, had seized the opportunity to purloin them. Temple repelled the charge instantly and successfully. Whately, the executor, never made a suggestion that the letters had been taken away by Temple, and always believed the contrary; but, swayed not so much by the solicitations of Hutchinson and Mauduit as by his sudden appointment as a banker to the treasury, he published an evasive card, in which he did not relieve Temple from the implication.

A duel followed between Temple and Whately, without witnesses; then newspaper altercations on the incidents of the meeting, till another duel seemed likely to ensue. Cushing, the timid speaker of the Massachusetts assembly, to whom the letters had been officially transmitted, begged that he might not be known as having received them, lest it should be "a damage" to him; the member of parliament, who had had them in his possession, never permitted himself to be named; Temple, who risked offices producing a thousand pounds a year, publicly denied "any concern in procuring or transmitting them." To prevent bloodshed, Franklin said: "I alone am the person who obtained and transmitted to Boston the letters in question." His ingenuousness exposed him to "unmerited abuse" in every company and in every newspaper, and gave his enemies an opening to reject publicly the petition, which otherwise would have been dismissed without parade.

1774.
Jan.

On the eleventh of January, 1774, Franklin for Massachusetts, and Mauduit, with Wedderburn, for Hutchinson and Oliver, appeared before the privy council. "I thought," said Franklin, "that this had been a matter of politics, and not of law, and have not brought any counsel." The hearing was therefore adjourned to the twenty-ninth. Meantime, the enraged ministry and the courtiers talked

of his dismissal from office ; of his arrest, and imprisonment at Newgate ; of a search among his papers for proofs of treason. Wedderburn avowed the intention to inveigh personally against him ; and he was harassed with a subpoena from the chancellor, to attend his court at the suit of William Whately, respecting the letters.

The public sentiment was, moreover, embittered by accounts that the Americans would not suffer the landing of the tea. On New Year's eve, a half-chest of it, picked up in Roxbury, was burnt on Boston common ; on the twentieth, three barrels of Bohea tea were burnt in State Street. On the twenty-fifth, John Malcolm, a North Briton, who had been aid to Governor Tryon in his war against the regulators, and was now a preventive officer in the customs, having indiscreetly provoked the populace, was seized, tarred and feathered, and paraded under the gallows.

1774.
Jan.

The general court was determined to compel the judges to refuse the salaries proffered by the king. In England, a greater clamor rose against the Americans than ever before. Hypocrites, traitors, rebels, and villains were the softest epithets applied to them ; some menaced war, and would have given full scope to sanguinary rancor. On the twenty-seventh, the government received official information that the people of Boston had thrown the tea overboard.

In this angry state of public feeling, Franklin on the twenty-ninth, assisted by Dunning and John Lee, came before the privy council to advocate the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver, in whose behalf appeared Israel Mauduit, the old adviser of the stamp-tax ; and Wedderburn, the solicitor-general. It was a day of great expectation. Thirty-five lords of the council were present, a larger number than had ever attended a hearing ; and the room was filled with a crowded audience, among whom were Priestley, Jeremy Bentham, and Edmund Burke.

The petition and accompanying papers having been read, Dunning asked on the part of his clients the reason of his being ordered to attend. "No cause," said he, "is insti-

tuted ; nor do we think advocates necessary ; nor are they demanded on the part of the colony. The petition is not in the nature of accusation, but of advice and request. It is an address to the king's wisdom, not an application for criminal justice ; when referred to the council, it is a matter for political prudence, not for judicial determination. The matter, therefore, rests wholly in your lordships' opinion of the propriety or impropriety of continuing persons in authority, who are represented by legal bodies, competent to such representation, as having (whether on sufficient or insufficient grounds) entirely forfeited the confidence of the assemblies whom they were to act with, and of the people whom they were to govern. The resolutions on which that representation is founded lie before your lordships, together with the letters from which they arose.

1774.
Jan.

“ If your lordships should think that these actions, which appear to the colony representative to be faulty, ought in other places to appear meritorious, the petition has not desired that the parties should be punished as criminals for these actions of supposed merit, nor even that they may not be rewarded. It only requests that these gentlemen may be removed to places where such merits are better understood, and such rewards may be more approved.” He spoke well, and was seconded by Lee.

The question as presented by Dunning was already decided in favor of the petitioners ; it was the universal opinion that Hutchinson ought to be superseded. Wedderburn changed the issue, as if Franklin were on trial ; and, in a speech woven of falsehood and ribaldry, turned his invective against the petitioners and their messenger. Of all men, Franklin was the most important in any attempt at conciliation. He was the agent of the two great colonies, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, and also of New Jersey and Georgia ; was the friend of Edmund Burke, who was agent for New York. All the troubles in British colonial policy had grown out of the neglect of his advice, and there was no one who could have mediated like him. He was now thrice venerable, from genius, fame in the world of science, and age. Him Wedderburn, turning from the real question,

employed all the cunning powers of distortion and misrepresentation to abuse. With an absurdity of application which the lords of the privy council were too much prejudiced to observe, he drew a parallel between Boston and Capri, Hutchinson and Sejanus, the humble petition of the Massachusetts assembly, and a verbose and grand epistle of the Emperor Tiberius. Franklin, whose character was most benign, and who from obvious motives of mercy had assumed the sole responsibility of obtaining the letters, he described as a person of the most deliberate malevolence, realizing in life what poetic fiction only had penned for the breast of a bloody African. The speech of Hutchinson, challenging a discussion of the supremacy of parliament, had been not only condemned by public opinion in England, but disapproved by the secretary of state. Wedderburn pronounced it "a masterly one," which had "stunned the faction." Franklin for twenty years had exerted wonderful power as a conciliator, had never once employed the American press to alarm the American people, but had sought to prevent parliamentary taxation of America, by private and successful representation during the time of the Pelhams; by seasonable remonstrance with Grenville against the stamp act; by honest and true answers to the inquiries of the house of commons; by the best advice to Shelburne. When sycophants sought by flattery to mislead the minister for America, he had given correct information and safe counsel to the ministry of Grafton, and had repeated it emphatically, and in writing, to the ministry of North: so that his advice, if accepted, would like his conductor have drawn the lightning from the cloud; but Wedderburn stigmatized this wise and hearty lover of both countries as "a true incendiary." The letters which had been written by public men in public offices on public affairs, to a member of the parliament that had been declared to possess absolute power over America, and which had been written for the purpose of producing a tyrannical exercise of that absolute power, he called private. Hutchinson had solicited the place held by Franklin, from which Franklin was to be dismissed; this fact was suppressed, and the wanton falsehood substituted

1774.
Jan.

that Franklin had desired the governor's office, and had basely planned "his rival's overthrow." Franklin had enclosed the letters officially to the speaker of the
1774.
Jan. Massachusetts assembly, without a single injunction of secrecy in regard to the sender: Wedderburn maintained that they were sent anonymously and secretly; and by an argument founded on a misstatement, but which he put forward as irrefragable, he pretended to convict Franklin of having obtained the letters by fraudulent and corrupt means, or of having stolen them from the person who stole them.

The lords of council, as he spoke, cheered him on by their laughter; and the cry of "Hear him! hear him!" burst repeatedly from a body which professed to be sitting in judgment as the highest court of appeal for the colonies, and yet encouraged the advocate of one of the parties to insult a public envoy, present only as the person delivering the petition of a great and royal colony. Meantime, the modern Prometheus, as Kant called Franklin, stood conspicuously erect, confronting his vilifier and the privy council; and while calumny, in the service of lawless force, aimed a death-blow at his honor, his virtues called on God and man to see how unjustly he suffered.

The reply of Dunning, who was very ill and fatigued, could scarcely be heard; and that of Lee produced no impression. There was but one place in England where fit reparation could be made; and there was but one man who had the eloquence, courage, and weight of character to effect the atonement. For the present, Franklin must rely on the approval of the monitor within his own breast. "I have never been so sensible of the power of a good conscience," said he to Priestley; "for, if I had not considered the thing for which I have been so much insulted as one of the best actions of my life, and what I should certainly do again in the same circumstances, I could not have supported it." But it was not to him, it was to the people of Massachusetts, and to New England, and to all America, that the insult was offered through their agent.

Franklin and Wedderburn parted: the one to spread the celestial fire of freedom among men; to make his name a

cherished word in every nation of Europe; and, in the beautiful language of Washington, "to be venerated for benevolence, to be admired for talents, to be esteemed for patriotism, to be beloved for philanthropy:" the other childless, though twice wedded, unbeloved, wrangling with the patron who had impeached his veracity, busy only in "getting every thing he could" as the wages of corruption. Franklin, when he died, had nations for his mourners, and the great and the good throughout the world as his eulogists; when Wedderburn died, no senate spoke his praise; no poet embalmed his memory; no man mourned; and his king, hearing that he was certainly gone, said only: "He has not left a greater knave behind him in my dominions." The report of the lords, which had been prepared beforehand, was immediately signed; and "they went away, almost ready to throw up their hats for joy, as if by the vehement philippic against the hoary-headed Franklin they had obtained a triumph."

And who were the lords of the council that thus thought to brand the noblest representative of free labor, who for many a year had earned his daily bread as apprentice, journeyman, or mechanic, and "knew the heart of the working man," and felt for the people of whom he remained one? If they who upon that occasion pretended to sit in judgment had never come into being, whom among them all would humanity have missed? But how would it have suffered if Franklin had not lived!

1774.
Jan.

The men in power who on that day sought to rob Franklin of his good name wounded him on the next in his fortunes, by turning him out of his place in the American post-office, that institution which had yielded no revenue till he organized it, and yielded none after his dismissal.

Superior to injury, the "magnanimous" "old man," as Rockingham called Franklin, still sought for conciliation; and, seizing the moment when he was sure of all sympathies, he wrote to his constituents to begin the work, by making compensation to the East India company before any compulsive measures were thought of. But events proceeded as they had been ordered. Various measures were talked

of for altering the constitution in Massachusetts, and for prosecuting individuals. The opinion in town was very general that America would submit; that government had been surprised into a repeal of the stamp act, and that all might be recovered.

1774.
Feb. The king admitted no misgivings. On the fourth of February, he consulted the American commander in chief, who had recently returned from New York. "I am willing to go back at a day's notice," said Gage, "if coercive measures are adopted. They will be lions, while we are lambs; but, if we take the resolute part, they will undoubtedly prove very meek. Four regiments sent to Boston will be sufficient to prevent any disturbance." The king adopted these opinions. He would enforce the claim of authority at all hazards. "All men," said he, "now feel that the fatal compliance in 1766 has increased the pretensions of the Americans to absolute independence." In the letters of Hutchinson, he saw nothing to which the least exception could be taken; and condemned the cautious address of Massachusetts, as the production of "falsehood and malevolence."

Accordingly on the seventh of February, in the court at St. James's, the report of the privy council imbodyed the vile insinuations of Wedderburn; and the petition, of which every word was true, was described as formed on false allegations, and dismissed as "groundless, vexatious, and scandalous."

CHAPTER LII.

THE CRISIS.

FEBRUARY—MAY, 1774.

THE British people resented the denial of its supremacy; and the ministry, overruling the lingering scruples of Dartmouth and Lord North, decided that there existed a rebellion which required coercion. In-
quiries were made, with the object of enabling the king to proceed in "England against the ringleaders," and inflict on them immediate and exemplary punishment. But after laborious examinations before the privy council, and the close attention of Thurlow and Wedderburn, it appeared that British law and the British constitution set bounds to the anger of the government, which gave the first evidence of its weakness by acknowledging a want of power to wreak its will. 1774.
Feb.

During the delay attending an appeal to parliament, the secretary of state would speak with the French minister of nothing but harmony; and he said to the representative of Spain: "Never was the union between Versailles, Madrid, and London, so solid; I see nothing that can shake it." Yet the old distrust lurked under the pretended confidence.

One day, while the government feared no formidable opposition, Charles James Fox, who was of the treasury board, censured Lord North for want of decision and courage. "Greatly incensed at his presumption," the king wrote: "That young man has so thoroughly cast off every principle of common honor and honesty that he must become as contemptible as he is odious." He was dismissed from office; and, being connected with no party, was left free to

follow his own bold and generous impulses. He was soon
“to discover powers for regular debate, which neither
1774. his friends hoped nor his enemies dreaded.” Disinter-
Feb. ested observers already predicted that he would one
day be classed among the greatest statesmen of his country.

The cause of liberty obtained in him a friend who was independent of party allegiance and traditions, just at the time when the passion for ruling America by the central authority was producing anarchy in the colonies. In South Carolina, whose sons esteemed themselves disfranchised on their own soil by the appointment of strangers to every office, the governor had for four years negatived every tax bill in the hope of controlling the appropriations. In North Carolina, the law establishing courts of justice had expired; in the conflict of claims of power between the governor and the legislature, every new law on the subject was negatived, and there were no courts of any kind in the province. The most orderly and best governed part of Carolina was the self-organized republic of Watauga, beyond the mountains, where the settlements were extending along the Holston, as well as south of the Nollichucky.

An intrepid population, heedless of proclamations, was pouring westward through all the gates of the Alleghanies; seating themselves on the New River and the Greenbrier, on the branches of the Monongahela, or even making their way to the Mississippi; accepting from nature their title-deeds to the unoccupied wilderness. Connecticut kept in mind that its charter bounded its territory by the Pacific. Its sons held possession of the Wyoming valley; and learned already to claim lands westward to the Mississippi, “seven or eight hundred miles in extent of the finest country and happiest climate on the globe. In fifty years,” said they, pleasing themselves with visions of the happiness of their posterity, and “the glory of this New World,” “our people will be more than half over this tract, extensive as it is; in less than one century, the whole may become even well cultivated. If the coming period bears due proportion to that from the first landing of poor distressed fugitives at Plymouth, nothing that we can in the utmost stretch of

imagination fancy of the state of this country at an equally future period, can exceed what it will then be. A commerce will and must arise, independent of every thing external, and superior to any thing ever known in Europe, or of which a European can have an adequate idea." The commerce of Philadelphia and New York had outgrown the laws of trade; and the revenue officers, weary of attempts to enforce them, received what duties were paid almost as a favor.

The New England people who dwelt on each side of the Green Mountains repelled the jurisdiction which the royal government of New York would have enforced even at the risk of bloodshed, and administered their own affairs by means of permanent committees.

The people of Massachusetts knew that "they had passed the river and cut away the bridge." Voting ^{1774.} the judges of the superior court ample salaries from ^{March.} the colonial treasury, they called upon them to refuse the corrupting donative from the crown. Four of them yielded; Oliver the chief justice alone refused; the house, therefore, impeached him before the council, and declared him suspended till the issue of the impeachment. They began also to familiarize the public mind to the thought of armed resistance, by ordering some small purchases of powder on account of the colony to be stored in a building of its own, and by directing the purchase of twelve pieces of cannon. "Don't put off the boat till you know where you will land," advised the timid. "We must put off the boat," cried Boston patriots, "even though we do not know where we shall land." "God will bring us into a safe harbor," said Hawley. "Anarchy itself," repeated one to another, "is better than tyranny."

The proposal for a general congress was deferred to the next June; but the committees of correspondence were to prepare the way for it. A circular letter explained why Massachusetts had been under the necessity of proceeding so far of itself, and entreated for its future guidance the benefit of the councils of the whole country. Hancock, on the fifth of March, spoke to a crowded audience in Boston:

“Permit me to suggest a general congress of deputies from the several houses of assembly on the continent, as the most effectual method of establishing a union for the security of our rights and liberties.” “Remember,” he continued, ^{1774.} ^{March.} “from whom you sprang. Not only pray, but act ; if necessary, fight and even die for the prosperity of our Jerusalem ;” and, as he pointed out Samuel Adams, the vast multitude seemed to promise that in all succeeding times the great patriot’s name, and “the roll of fellow-patriots, should grace the annals of history.”

In the name of Massachusetts, Samuel Adams prepared her last instructions to Franklin. “It will be in vain,” such were his solemn words officially pronounced, “for any to expect that the people of this country will now be contented with a partial and temporary relief ; or that they will be amused by court promises, while they see not the least relaxation of grievances. By means of a brisk correspondence among the several towns in this province, they have wonderfully animated and enlightened each other. They are united in sentiments, and their opposition to unconstitutional measures of government is become systematical. Colony begins to communicate freely with colony. There is a common affection among them ; and shortly the whole continent will be as united in sentiment and in their measures of opposition to tyranny as the inhabitants of this province. Their old good-will and affection for the parent country are not totally lost ; if she returns to her former moderation and good humor, their affection will revive. They wish for nothing more than a permanent union with her upon the condition of equal liberty. This is all they have been contending for ; and nothing short of this will or ought to satisfy them.”

Such was the ultimatum of America, sent by one illustrious son of Boston for the guidance of another. But the sense of the English people was manifestly with the ministers, who were persuaded that there was no middle way, and that the American continent would not interpose to shield Boston from the necessity of submission.

On the seventh of March, Dartmouth and North, griev-

ously lamenting their want of greater executive power, and the consequent necessity of laying their measures before parliament, presented to the two houses a message from the king. "Nothing," said Lord North, "can be done to re-establish peace without additional powers." "The question now brought to issue," said Rice, on moving the address, which was to pledge parliament to the exertion of every means in its power, "is whether the colonies are or are not the colonies of Great Britain." Nugent, now Lord Clare, entreated that there might be no divided counsels. "On the repeal of the stamp act," said Dowdeswell, "all America was quiet; but in the following year you would go in pursuit of a pepper-corn, you would collect from pepper-corn to pepper-corn, you would establish taxes as tests of obedience. Unravel the whole conduct of America; you will find out the fault is at home." "The dependence of the colonies is a part of the constitution," said Pownall, the former governor of Massachusetts. "I hope, for the sake of this country, for the sake of America, for the sake of general liberty, that this address will go with a unanimous vote."

Edmund Burke only taunted the ministry with their wavering policy. Lord George Germain derived all the American disturbance from the repeal of the stamp-tax. Conway pleaded for unanimity. "I speak," said William Burke, "as an Englishman; we applaud ourselves for the struggle we have had for our constitution; the colonists are our fellow-subjects; they will not lose theirs without a struggle." Barré thought the subject had been discussed with good temper, and refused to make any ^{1774.} opposition. ^{March.} "The leading question," said Wedderburn, who bore the principal part in the debate, "is the dependence or independence of America." The address was adopted without a division.

In letters which arrived the next day from America, calumny, with its hundred tongues, exaggerated the turbulence of the people, and invented wild tales of violence; so that the king believed there was in Boston a regular committee for tarring and feathering; and that they were next, to use

his own words, "to pitch and feather" Hutchinson himself.

The press roused the national pride, till the zeal of
^{1774.}
March. the English people for maintaining English supremacy became equal to the passions of the ministry. Even the merchants and manufacturers were made to believe that their command of the American market depended on the enforcement of British authority.

It was therefore to a parliament and people as unanimous as when in Grenville's day they sanctioned the stamp act that Lord North, on the fourteenth of March, opened the first branch of his American plan by a measure for the instant punishment of Boston. Its port was to be closed against all commerce, until it should have indemnified the East India company, and until the king should be satisfied that for the future it would obey the laws. All branches of the government, all political parties, alike those who denied and those who asserted the right to tax, members of parliament, peers, merchants, all ranks and degrees of people, were invited to proceed steadily in the one course of maintaining the authority of Great Britain. Yet it was noticed that Lord North spoke of the indispensable necessity for vigorous measures with an unusual air of languor. This appeal was successful. Of the Rockingham party, Cavendish approved the measure, which was but a corollary from their own declaratory act. "After having weighed the noble lord's proposition well," said even Barré, "I cannot help giving it my hearty and determinate affirmative. I like it, adopt and embrace it for its moderation." "There is no good plan," urged Fox, "except the repeal of the taxes forms a part of it." "The proposition does not fully answer my expectations," said John Calvert; "seize the opportunity, and take away their charter."

On the eighteenth, Lord North by unanimous consent presented to the house the Boston port bill. To its second reading, George Byng was the only one who cried no. "This bill," said Rose Fuller, in the debate on the twenty-third, "shuts up one of the ports of the greatest commerce and consequence in the English dominions in America. The North Americans will look upon it as a foolish act of

oppression. You cannot carry this bill into execution but by a military force." "If a military force is necessary," replied Lord North, "I shall not hesitate a moment to enforce a due obedience to the laws of this country." Fox, seizing the very point of the question, would have softened the bill by opening the port on the payment of indemnity to the East India company; and he took care that his motion should appear on the journal. "Obedience," replied Lord North, "not indemnification, will be the test of the Bostonians." "The offence of the Americans is flagitious," said Van. "The town of Boston ought to be knocked about their ears and destroyed. You will never meet with proper obedience to the laws of this country, until you have destroyed that nest of locusts." The clause to which Fox had objected was adopted without any division, and with but one or two negatives.

1774.
March.

The current, within doors and without, set strongly against America. It was only for the acquittal of their own honor and the discharge of their own consciences that two days later, on the third reading, Dowdeswell and Edmund Burke, unsupported by their former friends, spoke very strongly against a bill which punished the innocent with the guilty, condemned both without an opportunity of defence, deprived the laborer and the sailor of bread, injured English creditors by destroying the trade out of which the debts due them were to be discharged, and ultimately oppressed the English manufacturer. "You will draw a foreign force upon you," said Burke; "I will not say where that will end, but think, I conjure you, of the consequences." "The resolves at Boston," said Gray Cooper, "are a direct issue against the declaratory act;" and half the Rockingham party went with him. Rose Fuller opposed the bill, unless the tax on tea were also repealed. Pownall was convinced that the time was not proper for a repeal of the duty on tea. "This is the crisis," said Lord North, who had by degrees assumed a style of authority and decision. "The contest ought to be determined. To repeal the tea duty or any measure would stamp us with timidity." "The present bill," said Johnstone,

late governor of West Florida, "must produce a confederacy, and will end in a general revolt." But it passed ^{1774.} without a division, and very unfairly went to the lords _{March.} as the unanimous voice of the commons. The king sneered at "the feebleness and futility of the opposition."

In the midst of the general anger, a book was circulating in England, on the interest of Great Britain in regard to the colonies, and the only means of living in peace and harmony with them, which judged the past and estimated the future with calmness and sagacity. Its author Josiah Tucker, dean of Gloucester, a most loyal churchman, an apostle of free trade, saw clearly that the reduction of Canada had put an end to the sovereignty of the mother country; that it is in the very nature of all colonies, and of the Americans more than others, to aspire after independence. He would not suffer things to go on as they had lately done, for that would only make the colonies more headstrong; nor attempt to persuade them to send over a certain number of deputies or representatives to sit in parliament, for the prosecution of that scheme could only end in furnishing a justification to the mother country for making war against them; nor have recourse to arms, for the event was uncertain, and England, if successful, could still never treat America as an enslaved people, or govern them against their own inclinations. There remained but one wise solution; and it was to declare the North American colonies to be a free and independent people.

"If we separate from the colonies," it was objected, "we shall lose their trade." "Why so?" answered Tucker. "The colonies will trade even with their bitterest enemies in the hottest of a war, provided they shall find it their interest so to do. The question before us will turn on this single point: Can the colonists, in a general way, trade with any other European state to greater advantage than they can with Great Britain? If they cannot, we shall retain their custom;" and he demonstrated that England was for America the best market and the best storehouse; that the prodigious increase of British trade was due not to prohibition, but to the suppression of monopolies and exclu-

sive companies for foreign trade ; to the repeal of taxes on raw materials ; to the improvements, inventions, and discoveries for the abridgment of labor ; to roads, ^{1774.} canals, and better postal arrangements. The measure ^{March} would not decrease shipping and navigation, or diminish the breed of sailors.

But, "if we give up the colonies," it was pretended, "the French will take immediate possession of them." "The Americans," resumed Tucker, "cannot brook our government ; will they glory in being numbered among the slaves of the grand monarch?" "Will you leave the church of England in America to suffer persecution?" asked the churchmen. "Declare North America independent," replied Tucker, "and all their fears of ecclesiastical authority will vanish away ; a bishop will be no longer looked upon as a monster, but as a man ; and an episcopate may then take place." No minister, he confessed, would dare, as things were then circumstanced, to do so much good to his country ; neither would their opponents wish to see it done ; and "yet," he added, "measures evidently right will prevail at last."

An honest love of liberty revealed the same truth to John Cartwright. The young enthusiast was firmly persuaded that humanity, as well as the individual man, obtains knowledge, wisdom, and virtue progressively, so that its latter days will be more wise, peaceable, and pious than the earlier periods of its existence. He was destined to pass his life in efforts to purify the British constitution, which, as he believed, had within itself the seeds of immortality. With the fervid language of sincerity, he now advocated the freedom of his American kindred, and proclaimed American independence to be England's interest and glory.

Thus spoke the forerunners of free trade and reform. But the infatuated people turned from them to indulge unsparingly in ridicule and illiberal jests on the Bostonians, whom the iron hand of power was extended to chastise and subdue. At the meeting of the commons on the twenty-eighth, Lord North asked leave to bring in a bill for regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts

Bay. On this occasion, Lord George Germain showed anxiety to take a lead. "I wish," said he, "to see the council of that country on the same footing as that of other colonies. Put an end to their town-meetings. I would not have men of a mercantile cast every day collecting themselves together and debating about political matters. I would have them follow their occupations as merchants, and not consider themselves as ministers of that country. I would wish that all corporate powers might be given to certain people in every town, in the same manner that corporations are formed here. Their grand juries, their petits juries, require great regulation. I would wish to bring the constitution of America as similar to our own as possible; to see the council of that country similar to a house of lords in this; to see chancery suits determined by a court of chancery. At present, their assembly is a downright clog; their council thwart and oppose the security and welfare of that government. You have, sir, no government, no governor; the whole are the proceedings of a tumultuous and riotous rabble, who ought, if they had the least prudence, to follow their mercantile employment, and not trouble themselves with politics and government, which they do not understand. Some gentlemen say: 'Oh, don't break their charter; don't take away rights granted them by the predecessors of the crown.' Whoever wishes to preserve such charters, I wish him no worse than to govern such subjects. By a manly perseverance, things may be restored from anarchy and confusion to peace, quietude, and obedience."

"I thank the noble lord," said Lord North, "for every one of the propositions he has held out; they are worthy of a great mind; I see their propriety, and wish to adopt them;" and the house directed North, Thurlow, and Wedderburn to prepare and bring in a bill accordingly.

1774.
March. On the twenty-ninth of March, the Boston port bill underwent in the house of lords a fuller and fairer discussion. Rockingham, supported by the Duke of Richmond, resisted it with firmness. "Nothing can justify the ministers hereafter," said Temple, "except the town of Boston

proving in an actual state of rebellion." The good Lord Dartmouth called what passed in Boston commotion, not open rebellion. Lord Mansfield, a man "in the cool decline of life," acquainted only with the occupations of peace, a civil magistrate, covered with ermine that should have no stain of blood, with eyes broad open to the consequences, rose to take the guidance of the house out of the hands of the faltering minister. "What passed in Boston," said he, "is the last overt act of high treason, proceeding from our over-lenity and want of foresight. It is, however, the luckiest event that could befall this country; for all may now be recovered. Compensation to the East India company I regard as no object of the bill. The sword is drawn, and you must throw away the scabbard. Pass this act, and you will be passed the Rubicon. The Americans will then know that we shall temporize no longer; if it passes with tolerable unanimity, Boston will submit, and all will end in victory without carnage." In vain did Camden meet the question fully, and return very nearly to his former principles; in vain did Shelburne prove the tranquil and loyal condition in which he had left the colonies on giving up their administration. There was no division in the house of lords; and its journal, like that of the commons, declares that the Boston port bill passed unanimously.

The king in person made haste to give it his approval. To bring Boston on its knees and terrify the rest of America by enforcing the act, Gage, the military commander in chief for all North America, received the commission of civil governor of Massachusetts also, as swiftly as official forms would permit; and, in April, was sent over with four regiments, which he reported would be sufficient to enforce submission. He was ordered to shut the port of Boston; and, having as a part of his instructions the opinion of Thurlow and Wedderburn that acts of high treason had been committed there, he was directed to bring the ringleaders to condign punishment. Foremost among these, Samuel Adams was marked out for sacrifice as the chief of the revolution. "He is the most elegant writer, the most sagacious politician, and celebrated patriot, per-

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haps, of any who have figured in the last ten years," is the contemporary record of John Adams. "I cannot sufficiently respect his integrity and abilities," said Clymer, of Pennsylvania; "all good Americans should erect a statue to him in their hearts." Even where his conduct had been questioned, time proved that he had been right, and many in England "esteemed him the first politician in the world." He saw that "the rigorous measures of the British administration would the sooner bring to pass" the first wish of his heart, "the entire separation and independence of the colonies, which Providence would erect into a mighty empire." Indefatigable in seeking for Massachusetts the countenance of her sister colonies, he had no anxiety for himself, no doubt of the ultimate triumph of freedom; but, as he thought of the calamities that hung over Boston, he raised the prayer "that God would prepare that people for the event, by inspiring them with wisdom and fortitude."

"We have enlisted in the cause of our country," said its committee of correspondence, "and are resolved at all adventures to promote its welfare; should we succeed, our names will be held up by future generations with that unfeigned plaudit with which we now recount the great deeds of our worthy ancestors." Boston has now no option but to make good its entire independence, or to approach the throne as a penitent, and promise for the future passive "obedience" to British "laws" in all cases whatsoever. In the palace, there were no misgivings. "With ten thousand regulars," said the creatures of the ministry, "we can march through the continent."

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The act closing the port of Boston did not necessarily provoke a civil war. It was otherwise with the second. The opinion of Lord Mansfield had been obtained in favor of altering the charter of Massachusetts; and the king learned "with supreme satisfaction" that, on the fifteenth of April, a bill to regulate the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay had been read for the first time in the house of commons. Without any hearing or even notice to that province, parliament was to change its charter and its government. Its institution of town-

meetings was the most perfect system of local self-government that the world had ever known: the king's measure abolished them, except for the choice of town officers, or on the special permission of the governor. The council had been annually chosen in a convention of the old council and the house of representatives, and men had in this manner been selected more truly loyal than the councillors of any one of the royal colonies: the clause in the charter establishing this method of election was abrogated; the power of appointing and removing sheriffs was conferred on the executive; and the trial by jury was changed into a snare, by intrusting the returning of juries to dependent sheriffs. In this manner, Lord North placed himself in conflict with institutions sanctioned by royal charters, rooted in custom, confirmed by possession through successive generations, endeared by the just and fondest faith of the people, and entwined by a thousand stubborn tendrils round their affections and life.

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Against the bill Conway spoke out with firmness. The administration, he said, would take away juries from Boston; though Preston, in the midst of an exasperated town, had been acquitted. They sent the sword, but no olive branch. The immediate repeal of the tax on tea and its preamble remained the only possible avenue to conciliation.

Four days later, this repeal was moved by Rose Fuller in concert with the opposition. The subject in its connections was the gravest that could engage attention, involving the prosperity of England, the tranquillity of the British empire, the principles of colonization, and the liberties of mankind. But Cornwall, speaking for the ministers, stated the question to be simply "whether the whole of British authority over America should be taken away." On this occasion, Edmund Burke pronounced an oration such as had never been heard in the British parliament. His boundless stores of knowledge came obedient at his command; and his thoughts and arguments, the facts which he cited, and his glowing appeals, fell naturally into their places; so that his long and elaborate speech was one harmonious and unbroken emanation from his mind. He first

demonstrated that the repeal of the tax would be productive of unmixed good ; he then surveyed comprehensively the whole series of the parliamentary proceedings with regard to America, in their causes and their consequences. After exhausting the subject, he entreated parliament to "reason not at all," but to "oppose the ancient policy and practice of the empire, as a rampart against the speculations of innovators on both sides of the question."

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April. "Again and again," such was his entreaty, "revert to your old principles : seek peace and ensue it ; leave America, if she has taxable matter, to tax herself. Be content to bind America by laws of trade ; you have always done it. Let this be your reason for binding their trade. Do not burden them by taxes ; you were not used to do so from the beginning. Let this be your reason for not taxing. These are the arguments of states and kingdoms. Leave the rest to the schools. The several provincial legislatures ought all to be subordinate to the parliament of Great Britain. She, as from the throne of Heaven, superintends and guides and controls them all. To coerce, to restrain, and to aid, her powers must be boundless."

During the long debate, the young and fiery Lord Carmarthen had repeated what so many had said before him : "The Americans are our children, and how can they revolt against their parent ? If they are not free in their present state, England is not free ; because Manchester, and other considerable places, are not represented." "So then," retorted Burke, "because some towns in England are not represented, America is to have no representative at all. They are 'our children ;' but, when children ask bread, we are not to give a stone. Is it because the natural resistance of things and the various mutations of time hinder our government, or any scheme of government, from being any more than a sort of approximation to the right, is it therefore that the colonies are to recede from it infinitely ? When this child of ours wishes to assimilate to its parent, are we to give them our weakness for their strength, our opprobrium for their glory ? and the slough of slavery,

which we are not able to work off, to serve them for their freedom?"

The words fell from him as burning oracles; while he spoke for the rights of America, he seemed to prepare the way for renovating the constitution of England. Yet it was not so. Though more than half a century had intervened, Burke would not be wiser than the whigs of the days of King William. It was enough for him if the aristocracy applauded. He did not believe in the dawn of a new light, in the coming on of a new order, though a new order of things was at the door, and a new light had broken. He would not turn to see, nor bend to learn, if the political system of Somers, and Walpole, and the Pelhams, was to pass away; if it were so, he himself was determined not to know it, but "rather to be the last of that race of men." As Dante sums up the civilization of the middle age so that its departed spirit still lives in his immortal verse, Burke portrays all the lineaments of that old whig aristocracy which in its day achieved mighty things for liberty and for England. He that will study under its best aspect the enlightened character of England in the first half of the eighteenth century, the wonderful intermixture of privilege and prerogative, of aristocratic power and popular liberty, of a free press and a secret house of commons, of an established church and a toleration of all Protestant sects, of a fixed adherence to prescription and liberal tendencies in administration, must give his days and nights to the writings of Edmund Burke. But time never keeps company with the mourners; it flies from the memories of the expiring past, though clad in the brightest colors of imagination; it leaves those who stand still to their despair, and hurries forward to fresh fields of action and scenes for ever new.

Resuming the debate, Fox said earnestly: "If you persist in your right to tax the Americans, you will force them into open rebellion." On the other hand, Lord North asked that his measures might be sustained with firmness and resolution; and then, said he, "there is no doubt but peace and quietude will soon be restored." "We are now in great

difficulties," said Dowdeswell, speaking for all who adhered to Lord Rockingham; "let us do justice before it is too late." But it was too late. Even Burke's object had been only "to refute the charges against that party with which he had all along acted." After his splendid eloquence, no more divided with him than forty-nine, just the number that had divided against the stamp act, while on the other side stood nearly four times as many. "The repeal of the tea-tax was never to be obtained, so long as the authority of parliament was publicly rejected or opposed."

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April. On the day on which the house of commons was voting not to repeal the duty on tea, the people of New York sent back the tea-ship which had arrived but the day before; and eighteen chests of tea, found on board of another vessel, were hoisted on deck and emptied into "the slip."

The bill at its different stages in the house of commons was combated by Dowdeswell, Pownall, Sir George Saville, Conway, Burke, Fox, Barré, and most elaborately by Dunning; yet it passed the commons by a vote of more than three to one. Though vehemently opposed in the house of lords, it was carried by a still greater majority, but not without an elaborate protest. The king did not dream that by that act, which, as he writes, gave him "infinite satisfaction," all power of command in Massachusetts had from that day forth gone out from him, and that his word would never more be obeyed there.

A third penal measure, which had been questioned by Dartmouth, and recommended by the king, transferred the place of trial of any magistrates, revenue officers, or soldiers, indicted for murder or other capital offence in Massachusetts Bay, to Nova Scotia or Great Britain. As Lord North brought forward this wholesale bill of indemnity to the governor and soldiers, if they should trample upon the people of Boston and be charged with murder, it was noticed that he trembled and faltered at every word; showing that he was the vassal of a stronger will than his own, and vainly struggled to wrestle down the feelings which his nature refused to disavow. "If the people of America," said Van,

"oppose the measures of government that are now sent, I would do as was done of old in the time of the ancient Britons: I would burn and set fire to all their woods, and leave their country open. If we are likely to lose it, I think it better lost by our own soldiers than wrested from us by our rebellious children." "The bill is meant to enslave America," said Sawbridge, with only forty to listen to him. "I execrate the present measure," cried Barré; "you have had one meeting of the colonies in congress; you may soon have another. The Americans will not abandon their principles; for, if they submit, they are slaves."

The bill passed the commons by a vote of more than four to one. But evil comes intermixed with good: the ill is evanescent, the good endures. The British government inflamed the passions of the English people against America, and courted their sympathy; as a consequence, the secrecy of the debates in parliament came to an end; and this great change in the political relation of the legislature to public opinion was the irrevocable concession of a tory government, seeking strength from popular excitement.

A fourth measure legalized the quartering of troops within the town of Boston. The fifth professed to regulate the affairs of the province of Quebec. The nation, which would not so much as legally recognise the existence of a Catholic in Ireland, from political considerations sanctioned on the St. Lawrence "the free exercise of the religion of the church of Rome, and confirmed to its clergy their accustomed dues and rights" with the tithes as fixed in 1672 by the edict of Louis XIV. But the act did not stop there. In disregard of the charters and rights of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Virginia, it extended the boundaries of the new government of Quebec to the Ohio and the Mississippi, and over the region which included, besides Canada, the area of the present states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin; and moreover it decreed for this great part of a continent an unmixed arbitrary rule. The establishment of colonies on principles of liberty is "the peculiar and appropriated glory of England," rendering her venerable throughout all time in the history

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of the world. The office of peopling a continent with free and happy commonwealths was renounced. The Quebec bill, which quickly passed the house of lords without an adverse petition or a protest, and was borne through the commons by the zeal of the ministry and the influence of the king, left the people who were to colonize the most fertile territory in the world without the writ of habeas corpus to protect the rights of persons, and without a share of power

in any one branch of the government. "The Quebec constitution," said Thurlow, in the house of commons, "is the only proper constitution for colonies; it ought to have been given to them all, when first planted; and it is what all now ought to be reduced to."

In this manner, Great Britain, allured by a phantom of absolute authority over colonies, made war on human freedom. The liberties of Poland had been sequestered, and its territory began to be parcelled out among the usurpers. The aristocratic privileges of Sweden had been swept away by treachery and usurpation. The free towns of Germany, which had preserved in that empire the example of republics, were "like so many dying sparks that go out one after another." Venice and Genoa had stifled the spirit of independence in their prodigal luxury. Holland was ruinously divided against itself. In Great Britain, the house of commons had become so venal that it might be asked whether a body so chosen and so influenced was fit to legislate even within the realm. If it shall succeed in establishing by force of arms its "boundless" authority over America, where shall humanity find an asylum? But this decay of the old forms of liberty was the sign and the forerunner of a new creation. The knell of the ages of servitude and inequality was rung; those of equality and brotherhood were to come into life.

As the fleets and armies of England went forth to consolidate arbitrary power, the sound of war everywhere else on the earth died away. Kings sat still in awe, and nations turned to watch the issue.

THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

EPOCH THIRD.

AMERICA DECLARES ITSELF INDEPENDENT.

1774-1776.

AMERICA DECLARES ITSELF INDEPENDENT.

CHAPTER I.

AMERICA, BRITAIN, AND FRANCE, IN MAY, 1774.

MAY, 1774.

THE hour of the American revolution was come. The people of the continent obeyed one general impulse, as the earth in spring listens to the command of nature, and without the appearance of effort bursts forth to life. The change which Divine Wisdom ordained, and which no human policy or force could hold back, proceeded as majestically as the laws of being. The movement was quickened, even when it was most resisted; and its fiercest adversaries worked together for its fulfilment. The indestructible elements of freedom in the colonies asked room for expansion and growth. Standing in manifold relations with the governments, the culture, and the experience of the past, the Americans seized as their peculiar inheritance the traditions of liberty. Beyond any other nation, they had made trial of the possible forms of popular representation, and respected the activity of individual conscience and thought. The resources of the country in agriculture and commerce, forests and fisheries, mines and materials for manufactures, were so diversified and complete that their development could neither be guided nor circumscribed by a government beyond the ocean. The numbers, purity, culture, industry, and daring of its inhabitants proclaimed the existence of a people rich in creative energy, and ripe for institutions of their own.

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They were rushing towards revolution, and they knew it not. They refused to acknowledge even to themselves the hope that was swelling within them; and yet they were possessed by the truth that man holds inherent and inalienable rights; and as their religion had its witness coeval and coextensive with intelligence, so in their political aspirations they deduced from universal principles a bill of rights, as old as creation and as wide as humanity. The idea of freedom had always revealed itself at least to a few of the wise, whose prophetic instincts were quickened by love of their kind; its light flashed joy across the darkest centuries; and its growth can be traced in the tendency of the ages. In America, it was the breath of life to the people. For the first time, it found a region and a race where it could be professed with the earnestness of an indwelling conviction, and be defended with the enthusiasm that heretofore had marked no wars but those for religion. When all Europe slumbered over questions of liberty, a band of exiles, keeping watch by night, heard the glad tidings which promised the political regeneration of the world. A revolution, unexpected in the moment of its coming, but prepared by glorious forerunners, grew naturally and necessarily out of the series of past events by the formative principle of a living belief. And why should man organize resistance to the grand design of Providence? Why should not the consent of the ancestral land and the congratulations of every other call the young nation to its place among the powers of the earth? Britain was the mighty mother who bred and formed men capable of laying the foundation of so noble an empire; and she alone could have formed them. She had excelled all the world as the planter of colonies. The condition which entitled them to independence was now more than fulfilled. Their vigorous vitality refused conformity to foreign laws and external rule. They could take no other way to perfection than by the unconstrained development of that which was within them. They were not only able to govern themselves, they alone were able to do so; subordination visibly repressed their energies. It was only by self-direction that they could

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at all times and in entireness freely employ in action their collective and individual faculties to the fullest extent of their ever increasing intelligence. Could not the illustrious nation, which had gained no distinction in war, in literature, or in science, comparable to that of having wisely founded distant settlements on a system of liberty, willingly perfect its beneficent work, now when no more was required than the acknowledgment that its offspring was come of age, and its own duty accomplished? Why must the ripening of lineal virtue be struck at, as rebellion in the lawful sons? Why is their unwavering attachment to the essential principle of their existence to be persecuted as treason, rather than viewed with delight as the crowning glory of the country from which they sprung? If the institutions of Britain were so deeply fixed in the usages and opinions of its people that their deviations from justice could not as yet be rectified; if the old continent was pining under systems of authority which were not fit to be borne, and which as yet no way opened to amend, why should not a people be heartened to build a commonwealth in the wilderness, where alone it was offered a home?

So reasoned a few in Britain, who were jeered at "as visionary enthusiasts," deserving no weight in public 1774.
May. affairs. Parliament had asserted an absolute lordship over the colonies in all cases whatsoever; and, fretting itself into a frenzy at the denial of its unlimited dominion, was destroying all its recognised authority by the intensity of its zeal for more. The majority of the ministers, including the most active and determined, were bent on the immediate employment of force. Lord North, who recoiled from civil war, exercised no control over his colleagues, leaving the government to be conducted by the several departments. As a consequence, the king became the only point of administrative union, and ruled as well as reigned. In him an approving conscience had no misgiving as to his duty. His heart knew no relenting; his will never wavered. Though America were to be drenched in blood and its towns reduced to ashes, though its people were to be driven to struggle for total independence, though he himself should

find it necessary to bid high for hosts of mercenaries from the Scheldt to Moscow, and in quest of savage allies go tapping at every wigwam from Lake Huron to the Gulf of Mexico, he was resolved to coerce the thirteen colonies into submission. The people of Great Britain identified themselves, though but for the moment, with their king, and talked of their subjects beyond the Atlantic. Of their ability to crush resistance they refused to doubt, nor did they, nor the ministers, nor George III., apprehend interference, except from that great neighboring realm whose colonial system Britain had just overthrown.

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All Europe, though at peace, was languishing under exhaustion from wars of ambition or vices of government, and crying out for relief from abuses which threatened to dissolve the old social order. In France, enduring life belonged to two elements only in the state, the people and monarchical power; and every successive event increased the importance of the one and the other. It was its common people which saved that country from perishing of unbelief, and made it the most powerful state of continental Europe. The peasants, it is true, were poor and oppressed and ignorant; but all Frenchmen, alike townspeople and villagers, were free. There was no protecting philanthropy on the part of the nobility; no hierarchy of mutually dependent ranks; no softening of contrasts by the blending of colors and harmonizing of shades: the poor, though gay by temperament, lived sad and apart; bereft of intercourse with superior culture; never mirthful but in mockery of misery; not cared for in their want, nor solaced in hospitals, nor visited in prisons; but the bonds had been struck alike from the mechanic in the workshop and the hind in the fields. The laborer at the forge was no longer a serf; the lord of the manor exercised jurisdiction no more over vassals; in all of old France the peasants were freemen, and in the happiest provinces had been so for half a thousand years. Only a few of them, as of the nobles in the middle ages, could read; but a vast number owned the acres which they tilled. By lineage, language, universality of

personal freedom, and diffusion of landed property, the common people of France formed one compact and indivisible nation.

Two circumstances which aggravated the wretchedness of the third estate increased their importance. The feudal aristocracy had been called into being for the protection of the kingdom; but, in the progress of ages, they escaped from the obligation to military service. In this manner they abdicated their dignity as the peers of their sovereign; and, though they still scorned every profession but that of arms, they received their commissions from the king's favor, and drew from his exchequer their pay as hirelings.

Thus the organization of the army ceased to circumscribe royal power, which now raised soldiers directly from the humbler classes. The defence of the country had passed from the king and his peers with their vassals to the king in direct connection with those vassals who were thus become a people.

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Again, the nobility, carefully securing the exemption of their own estates, had, in their struggles with the central power, betrayed the commons, by allowing the monarch to tax them at will. Proving false to their trust as the privileged guardians of liberty, and renouncing the military service that had formed the motive to their creation, they made themselves an insulated caste. All that was beneficent in feudalism had died out. Soulless relics of the past, the nobles threw up their hereditary rustic independence to fasten themselves as courtiers upon the treasury. They hung like a burden on the state, which they no longer guided, nor sustained, nor defended, nor consoled. Some few among them, superior to their rank, helped to bear society onwards to its regeneration; but, as a class, their life was morally at an end. They had renounced their political importance, which passed to the people. The imposts which they refused to share, and which in two centuries had increased tenfold, fell almost exclusively on the lowly, who toiled and suffered, having no redress against those employed by the government; regarding the monarch with touching reverence and love, though they knew him

mostly as the power that harried them; ruled as though joy were no fit companion for labor; as though want were the necessary goad to industry, and sorrow the only guarantee of quiet. They were the strength of the kingdom, the untiring producers of its wealth; the repairer of its armies; the sole and exhaustless source of its revenue; and yet, in their forlornness, they cherished scarcely a dim vision of a happier futurity on earth.

Meantime, monarchy was concentrating a mass of power, which a strong arm could wield with irresistible effect, which an effeminate squanderer could not exhaust. Instead of a sovereign restrained by his equals, and depending on free grants from the states, one will commanded a standing army, and imposed taxes on the unprivileged classes. These taxes, moreover, it collected by its own officers; so that throughout all the provinces of France an administration of plebeians, accountable to the king alone, superseded in substance, though not always in form, the methods of feudalism.

Nor had the established religion wholly escaped dependence on the crown. The Catholic Church assumes to represent the Divine Wisdom itself, and, as a logical consequence, its decisions, though pronounced by an alien, should be supreme. The Gallican church had at least a name of its own; and when it was observed that Jesuits had inculcated the subordination of the temporal sovereign to a superior rule under which the wicked tyrant might be arraigned, dethroned, or even slain, Louis XV. uprooted by his word and exiled the best organized religious society in Christendom; not perceiving that the sudden closing of their schools of learning left the rising generation more easy converts to unbelief in royalty itself. The clergy were tainted with the general skepticism; they stooped before the temporal power to win its protection, and did not scruple to enforce by persecution a semblance of homage to the symbols of religion, of which the life was put to sleep.

The magistrates, with graver manners than the clergy or the nobility, did not so much hate administrative despot-

ism as grasp at its direction ; they themselves had so scanty means of self-defence against its arm that, when they hesitated to register the king's decrees, even the word of Louis XV. could make an end of parliaments which were almost as old as the French monarchy itself.

For the benefit of the king's treasury, free charters, granted or confirmed in the middle ages to towns and cities, had over and over again been confiscated, to be ransomed by the citizens or sold to an oligarchy ; so that municipal liberties were no longer independent of the royal caprice.

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France was the most lettered nation of the world, and its authors loved to be politicians. Of these, the conservative class, whose fanatical partisanship included in their system of order the continuance of every established abuse, had no support but in the king. Scoffers also abounded ; but they did not care to restrain arbitrary power, or remove the abuses which they satirized. One universal skepticism questioned the creed of churches and the code of feudal law, the authority of the hierarchy and the sanctity of monarchy ; but unbelief had neither the capacity nor the wish to organize a new civilization. The philosophy of the day could not guide a revolution, for it professed to receive no truth but through the senses, denied the moral government of the world, and derided the possibility of disinterested goodness. As there was no practical school of politics in which experience might train statesmen to test new projects, the passion for elementary theories had no moderating counterpoise ; and the authors of ameliorating plans favored the unity of administration, that one indisputable word might substitute a uniform and rational system for the complicated usages and laws which had been the deposits of many conquests and ages.

At this time, the central power, in the hands of a monarch infamous by his enslavement to pleasure, had become hideously selfish and immoral, palsied and depraved ; swallowing up all other authority, and yet unconscious of the attendant radical change in the feudal constitution ; dreaming itself absolute, yet wanting personal respectabil-

ity; confessing the necessity of administrative reforms, which it was yet unable to direct. For great ends it was helpless, though it was able to torture and distress the feeble; to fill the criminal code with the barbarisms of arrogant cruelty; to evoke before exceptional courts every accusation against even the humblest of its agents; to judge by special tribunals questions involving life and fortune; to issue arbitrary warrants of imprisonment; to punish without information or sentence; making itself the more hateful the less it was restrained.

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May. The duty and honor of the kingdom were sacrificed in its foreign policy. Louis XV. courted the friendship of George III. of England, not to efface the false notion of international enmity which was a brand on the civilization of that age, but to gain a new support for monarchical power. For this end, the humiliations of the last war would have been forgiven by the monarch, had not the heart of the nation still palpitated with resentment. Under the supremacy of the king's mistress, sensual pleasure ruled the court; dictated the appointment of ministers; confused the administration; multiplied the griefs of the overburdened peasantry; and would have irretrievably degraded France, but for its third estate, who were ready to lift their head and assert their power, whenever in any part of the world a happier people should give them an example.

The heir to the throne of France was not admitted to the royal council, and grew up ignorant of business and inert. The dauphiness Marie Antoinette, in the splendor of supreme rank, preserved the gay cheerfulness of youth. Soon after her arrival in France, her mother had written to her: "God has crowned you with so much grace and sweetness and docility that all the world must love you." She was conscious of being lovely, and was willing to be admired; but she knew how to temper graceful condescension with august severity. Impatient of stately etiquette, which controlled her choice of companions even more than the disposition of her hours, she broke away from wearisome formalities with the eager vivacity of self-will, and was happiest when she could forget that she was a princess

and be herself. From the same quickness of nature, she readily took part in any prevailing public excitement, regardless of reasons of state or the decorum of the palace. In music, her taste was exquisite; and she merited the graceful flattery of Glück. Unless her pride was incensed, she was merciful; and she delighted in bestowing gifts; but her benevolence was chiefly the indulgence of a capricious humor, which never attracted the affection of the poor. Faithful in her devotedness to the nobles, she knew not the utter decay of their order; and had no other thought than that they were bound by the traditions of centuries to defend her life and name. But the rugged days of feudalism were gone by; and its frivolous descendants were more ready to draw their swords for precedence in a dance at court than to protect the honor of their future queen. From her arrival in France, Marie Antoinette was hated by the opponents of the Austrian alliance; and, in her first years at Versailles, a faction in the highest ranks began to calumniate her artless impulsiveness as the evidence of crime.

On this scene of a degenerate nobility and popular distress; of administrative corruptness and ruined finances; of a brave but luxurious army and a slothful navy; of royal authority, unbounded, unquestioned, and yet despised; of rising deference to public opinion in a nation thoroughly united and true to its nationality, Louis XVI., the "desired one" of the people, while not yet twenty years old, entered as king. When on the tenth of May, 1774, he and the still younger Marie Antoinette were told that his grandfather was no more, "I feel," said he, "as if the universe were about to crush me;" and the two threw themselves on their knees, crying, "We are too young to reign," and praying God to direct their inexperience. The city of Paris was delirious with joy at their accession. "It is our paramount wish to make our people happy," was the language of the first edict of the new absolute prince. "He excels in writing prose," said Voltaire, on reading the words of promise; "he seems inspired by Marcus Aurelius; he desires what is good, and does it. Happy they, who, like

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him, are but twenty years old, and will long enjoy the sweets of his reign." Caron de Beaumarchais, the sparkling dramatist and restless plebeian adventurer, made haste to recommend to the royal patronage his genius for intrigue.

"Is there," said he through De Sartine, the head of the police, "any thing which the king wishes to know alone and at once, any thing which he wishes done quickly and secretly, here am I, who have at his service a head, a heart, arms, and no tongue."

The young monarch, with all his zeal for administrative improvements, had no revolutionary tendencies, and held, like his predecessor, that the king alone should reign; yet his state papers were soon to cite reverently the law of nature and the rights of man; and the will of the people was to walk its rounds in the palace, invisible yet supreme.

The sovereign of Spain, on wishing his kinsman joy of his accession, reminded him, as the head of the Bourbons, of their double relationship by his mother's side, as well as his father's; and expressed the wish for "their closest union and most perfect harmony;" for, said he, "the family compact guarantees the prosperity and glory of our house." At that time, the Catholic king was fully employed in personally regulating his finances, and in preparations to chastise the pirates of Algiers, as well as to extort from Portugal a renunciation of its claims to extend the boundaries of Brazil. The sovereign of France was engrossed by the pressing anxieties attending the dismissal of an odious ministry, and the inauguration of domestic reform; so that neither of the princes seemed at leisure to foment troubles in North America.

Yet, next to Du Barry and her party, there was no such sincere mourner for Louis XV. as George III. The continuance of the cordial understanding between the two crowns would depend upon the persons in whom the young king should place his confidence. The "London Court Gazette" announced him as "king of France," though English official language had heretofore spoken only of "the French king," and the Herald's Office still knew no other king of France than the head of the house of Hanover.

At the same time, the British ministers, always jealous of the Bourbons, kept spies to guess at their secrets; to hearken after the significant whispers of their ministers; to bribe workmen in their navy yards for a report of every keel that was laid, every new armament or re-enforcement to the usual fleets. Doubting the French assurances of a wish to see the troubles in America quieted, they resolved to force the American struggle to an immediate issue, hoping not only to insulate Massachusetts, but even to confine the contest to its capital.

On the day of the accession of Louis XVI., the act ^{1774.} closing the port of Boston, transferring the board of ^{May 10.} customs to Marblehead, and the seat of government to Salem, reached the devoted town. The king was confident that the slow torture which was to be applied would constrain its inhabitants to cry out for mercy and promise unconditional obedience. Success in resistance could come only from an American union, which was not to be hoped for, unless Boston should offer herself as a willing sacrifice. The mechanics and merchants and laborers, altogether scarcely so many as thirty-five hundred able-bodied men, knew that they were acting not for the liberty of a province or of America, but for freedom itself. They were inspired by the thought that the Providence which rules the world demanded of them heroic self-denial, as the champions of humanity. The country never doubted their perseverance, and they trusted the fellow-feeling of the continent.

As soon as the act was received, the Boston committee of correspondence, by the hand of Joseph Warren, invited eight neighboring towns to a conference "on the critical state of public affairs." On the twelfth at noon, Metcalf Bowler, the speaker of the assembly of Rhode Island, came before them with the cheering news that, in answer to a recent circular letter from the body over which he presided, all the thirteen governments were pledged to union. Punctually, at the hour of three in the afternoon of that day, the committees of Dorchester, Roxbury, Brookline, Newton, Cambridge, Charlestown, Lynn, and Lexington, joined

them in Faneuil Hall, the cradle of American liberty, where for ten years the freemen of the town had debated the great question of justifiable resistance. The lowly men who now met there were most of them accustomed to feed their own cattle; to fold their own sheep; to guide their own ploughs; all trained to public life in the little democracies of their towns; some of them captains in the militia and officers of the church according to the discipline of Congregationalists; nearly all of them communicants, under a public covenant with God. They grew in greatness as their sphere enlarged. Their virtues burst the confines of village life. They felt themselves to be citizens not of little municipalities, but of the whole world of mankind. In their dark hour, light broke upon them from their own truth and courage. Placing Samuel Adams at their head, and guided by a report prepared by Joseph Warren of Boston, Gardner of Cambridge, and others, they agreed unanimously on the injustice and cruelty of the act, by which parliament, without competent jurisdiction, and contrary as well to natural right as to the laws of all civilized states, had, without a hearing, set apart, accused, tried, and condemned the town of Boston. The delegates from the eight villages were reminded by those of Boston that that port ^{1774.} could recover its trade by paying for the tea which _{May.} had been thrown overboard; but they held it unworthy even to notice the humiliating offer, promising on their part to join "their suffering brethren in every measure of relief."

To make a general union possible, self-restraint must regulate courage. The meeting knew that a declaration of independence would have alienated their sister colonies, and thus far they had not found out that independence was really the desire of their own hearts. To suggest nothing till a congress could be convened, would have seemed to them like abandoning the town to bleed away its life. The king had expected to starve its people into submission; in their circular letter to the committees of the other colonies, they proposed as a counter action a general cessation of trade with Britain. "Now," they added, "is the time

when all should be united in opposition to this violation of the liberties of all. The single question is, whether you consider Boston as suffering in the common cause, and sensibly feel and resent the injury and affront offered to her? We cannot believe otherwise; assuring you that, not in the least intimidated by this inhuman treatment, we are still determined to maintain to the utmost of our abilities the rights of America."

The next day, while Gage was sailing into the harbor with the vice-regal powers of commander in chief for the continent, as well as the civil authority of governor in the province, Samuel Adams presided over a very numerous town-meeting, which was attended by many that had hitherto kept aloof. The thought of republican Rome, in its purest age, animated their consultations. The port act was read, and in bold debate was pronounced repugnant to law, religion, and common sense. At the same time, those who, from loss of employment, were to be the first to encounter want, were remembered with tender compassion, and measures were put in train to comfort them. Then the inhabitants, by the hand of Samuel Adams, made their 1774.
May. appeal "to all the sister colonies, inviting a universal suspension of exports and imports, promising to suffer for America with a becoming fortitude, confessing that singly they might find their trial too severe, and entreating not to be left to struggle alone, when the very being of every colony, considered as a free people, depended upon the event."

On the seventeenth of May, Gage, who had remained four days with Hutchinson at Castle William, landed at Long Wharf, amidst salutes from ships and batteries. Received by the council and civil officers, he was escorted by the Boston cadets, under Hancock, to the state house, where the council presented a loyal address, and his commission was proclaimed with three volleys of musketry and as many cheers. He then partook of a public dinner in Faneuil Hall, at which he proposed "the prosperity of the town of Boston." His toast in honor of Hutchinson "was received with a general hiss." Yet many favored a compromise,

and put forward a subscription to pay for the tea; and on the eighteenth Jonathan Amory very strongly urged that measure in town-meeting, but it was rejected by the common voice. There still lingered a hope of relief through the intercession of Gage; but he was fit neither to reconcile nor to subdue. By his mild temper and love of society, he gained the good-will of his boon companions, and escaped personal enmities; but in earnest business he inspired neither confidence nor fear. Though his disposition was far from being malignant, he was so poor in spirit and so weak of will, so dull in his perceptions and so unsettled in his opinions, that he was sure to follow the worst advice, and vacillate between words of concession and merciless severity. He had promised the king that with four regiments he would play the "lion," and troops beyond his requisition were hourly expected. His instructions enjoined upon him the seizure and condign punishment of Samuel Adams, Hancock, Joseph Warren, and other leading patriots; but he stood too much in dread of them to attempt their arrest.

The people of Massachusetts were almost exclusively of English origin; beyond any other colony, they loved the land of their ancestors; but their fond attachment made them only the more sensitive to its tyranny. To subject them to taxation without their consent was robbing
1774.
May. them of their birthright; they scorned the British parliament as "a junto of the servants of the crown, rather than the representatives of England." Not disguising to themselves their danger, but confident of victory, they were resolved to stand together as brothers for a life of liberty.

The merchants of Newburyport were the first who agreed to suspend all commerce with Britain and Ireland. Salem, also, the place marked out as the new seat of government, in a very full town-meeting, and after unimpassioned debates, decided almost unanimously to stop trade not with Britain only, but even with the West Indies. If in Boston a few cravens still proposed to purchase a relaxation of the blockade by "a subscription to pay for the tea," the

majority were beset by no temptation so strong as that of routing at once the insignificant number of troops who had come to overawe them. But Samuel Adams, while he compared their spirit to that of Sparta or Rome, ^{1774.} ^{May.} inculcated "patience as the characteristic of a patriot;" and the people, having sent forth their cry to the continent, waited self-possessed for voices of consolation.

CHAPTER II.

NEW YORK PROPOSES A GENERAL CONGRESS.

MAY, 1774.

NEW YORK anticipated the prayer of Boston. Its people, who had received the port act directly from
1774. England, felt the wrong to that town as a wound.
May. to themselves, and even the lukewarm kindled with resentment. From the epoch of the stamp act, their Sons of Liberty, styled by the royalists "the Presbyterian junto," had kept up a committee of correspondence. Yet Sears, Macdougall, and Lamb, still its principal members, represented the mechanics of the city more than its merchants; and they never enjoyed the confidence of the great landed proprietors, who, by the tenure of estates throughout New York, formed a recognised aristocracy. To unite the province on the side of liberty, a more comprehensive combination was required. The old committee advocated the questionable policy of an immediate suspension of commerce with Britain; but they also proposed, and they were the first to propose, "a general congress." These recommendations they forwarded through Connecticut to Boston, with entreaties to that town to stand firm; and, in full confidence of approval, they applied not to New England only, but to Philadelphia, and through Philadelphia to every colony at the south.

Such was the inception of the continental congress of 1774. It was the last achievement of the Sons of Liberty of New York. Their words of cheering to Boston, and their summons to the country, had already gone forth, when, on the evening of the sixteenth of May, they convoked the inhabitants of their city. A sense of the impend-

ing change tempered passionate rashness. Some who were in a secret understanding with officers of the crown sought to evade all decisive measures ; the merchants were averse to headlong engagements for suspending trade ; the gentry feared lest the men who on all former occasions had led the multitude should preserve the control in the day which was felt to be near at hand, when an independent people would shape the permanent institutions of a continent. Under a conservative influence, the motion prevailed to supersede the old committee of correspondence by a new one of fifty, and its members were selected by open nomination. The choice included men from all classes. Nearly a third part were of those who followed the British standard to the last ; others were lukewarm, unsteady, and blind to the nearness of revolution ; others again were enthusiastic Sons of Liberty. The friends to government claimed that the majority was inflexibly loyal ; the control fell into the hands of men who, like John Jay, still aimed at reconciling a continued dependence on England with the just freedom of the colonies.

Meantime, the port act was circulated with incredible rapidity. In some places, it was printed upon mourning paper with a black border, and cried about the streets as a barbarous murder ; in others, it was burnt with great solemnity in the presence of vast bodies of the people. On the seventeenth, the representatives of Connecticut made a declaration of rights. " Let us play the man," said they, " for the cause of our country ; and trust the event to Him who orders all events for the best good of his people." On the same day, the freemen of the town of Providence, unsolicited from abroad, and after full discussion, voted to promote " a congress of the representatives of all the North American colonies." Declaring " personal liberty an essential part of the natural rights of mankind," they expressed the wish to prohibit the importation of negro slaves, and to set free all negroes born in the colony.

The third day after these spontaneous movements, ^{1774.} the city and county of New York inaugurated their ^{May 19.} new committee with the formality of public approval. Two

parties appeared in array : on the one side, men of property ; on the other, tradesmen and mechanics. Foreboding a revolution, they seemed to contend in advance whether their future government should be formed upon the basis of property or on purely popular principles. It was plain that knowledge had penetrated the mass of the people, who were growing accustomed to reason for themselves, and were ready to found a new social order in which they would rule. But on that day they chose to follow the wealthier class if it would but make with them a common cause ; and the nomination of the committee was accepted, even with the addition of Isaac Low as its chairman, who was more of a loyalist than a patriot.

The letter from the New York Sons of Liberty had been received in Philadelphia, where Wedderburn and Hutchinson had been burnt in effigy ; and when, on the nineteenth, the messenger from Boston arrived with despatches, he found Charles Thomson, Thomas Mifflin, Joseph Reed, and others, preparing to call a public meeting on the evening of the next day.

1774.
May 20. On the morning of the twentieth, the king gave in person his assent to the act which made the British commander in chief in America, his army, and the civil officers, no longer amenable to American courts of justice ; and also to that which mutilated the charter of Massachusetts, and destroyed the freedom of its town-meetings. "The law," wrote Garnier, "the extremely intelligent" French chargé, "must either lead to the complete reduction of the colonies, or clear the way for their independence." "I wish from the bottom of my heart," said the Duke of Richmond, during a debate in the house of lords, "that the Americans may resist, and get the better of the forces sent against them." Four years later, Fox observed : "The alteration of the government of Massachusetts was certainly a most capital mistake, because it gave the whole continent reason to think that their government was liable to be subverted at our pleasure and rendered entirely despotic. From thence all were taught to consider the town of Boston as suffering in the common cause."

While the British parliament was conferring on Gage power to take the lives of Bostonians with impunity, the men of Philadelphia were asking each other if there remained a hope that the danger would pass by. The 1774.
May. Presbyterians, true to their traditions, held it right to war against tyranny; "the Germans, who composed a large part of the inhabitants of the province, were all on the side of liberty;" the merchants refused to sacrifice their trade; the Quakers in any event scrupled to use arms; a numerous class, like Reed, cherished the most passionate desire for a reconciliation with the mother country. In the chaos of opinion, the cause of liberty needed wise and intrepid counsellors; but, during the absence of Franklin, Pennsylvania fell under the influence of Dickinson. His claims to public respect were indisputable. He was honored for spotless morals, eloquence and good service in the colonial legislature. His writings had endeared him to America as a sincere friend of liberty. Possessed of an ample fortune, it was his pride to call himself a "farmer." Residing at a country seat which overlooked Philadelphia and the Delaware River, he delighted in study and repose, and was wanting in active vigor of will. Free from personal cowardice, his shrinking sensitiveness bordered on pusillanimity. "He had an excellent heart, and the cause of his country lay near it;" "he loved the people of Boston with the tenderness of a brother;" yet he was more jealous of their zeal than touched by their sorrows. "They will have time enough to die," were his words on that morning. "Let them give the other provinces opportunity to think and resolve. If they expect to drag them by their own violence into mad measures, they will be left to perish by themselves, despised by their enemies, and almost detested by their friends." Having matured his scheme in solitude, he received at dinner Thomson, Mifflin, and Reed; who, for the sake of his public co-operation, acquiesced in his delays.

In the evening, about three hundred of the principal citizens of Philadelphia assembled in the long room of the City Tavern. The letter from the Sons of Liberty of New

York was read aloud, as well as the letters from Boston. Two measures were thus brought under discussion : that of New York for a congress ; that of Boston for an immediate cessation of trade. The latter proposition was received with loud and general murmurs. Dickinson, ^{1774.} ^{May.} having conciliated the wavering merchants by expressing himself strongly against it, was heard with applause as he spoke for a general congress. He insisted, however, on a preliminary petition to his friend John Penn, the proprietary governor, to call together the legislature of the colony. This request every one knew would be refused. But then, reasoned Mifflin and the ardent politicians, a committee of correspondence, after the model of Boston, must, in consequence of the refusal, be named for the several counties in the province. Delegates will thus be appointed to a general congress ; “and, when the colonies are once united in councils, what may they not effect ?” At an early hour Dickinson retired from the meeting, of which the spirit far exceeded his own ; but even the most zealous acknowledged the necessity of deferring to his advice. Accepting, therefore, moderation and prudence as their watchwords, they did little more than resolve that Boston was suffering in the general cause ; and they appointed a committee of intercolonial correspondence, with Dickinson as its chief.

On the next day, the committee, at a meeting from which Dickinson stayed away, in a letter to Boston drafted mainly by William Smith, embodied the system which, for the coming year, was to control the counsels of America. It proposed a general congress of deputies from the different colonies, who, in firm but dutiful terms, should make to the king a petition of their rights. This, it was believed, would be granted through the influence of the wise and good in the mother country ; and the most sanguine predicted that the very idea of a general congress would compel a change in the policy of Great Britain.

In like manner, the fifty-one who now represented the city and county of New York adopted from their predecessors the plan of a continental congress, and to that body they referred all questions relating to commerce ; thus post-

poning the proposal for an immediate suspension of trade, but committing themselves irrevocably to union and resistance. At the same time, they invited every county in the colony to make choice of a committee.

The messenger, on his return with the letters from Philadelphia and New York, found the people of Connecticut anxious for a congress, even if it should not at once embrace the colonies south of the Potomac; and their committee wisely entreated Massachusetts to fix the place and time for its meeting. 1774.
May.

At Boston, the agents and supporters of the British ministers strove to bend the firmness of its people by holding up to the tradesmen the grim picture of misery and want; while Hutchinson promised to obtain in England a restoration of trade, if the town would but pay the first cost of the tea. Before his departure, one hundred and twenty-three merchants and others of Boston clandestinely addressed him, "lamenting the loss of so good a governor," confessing the propriety of indemnifying the East India company, and appealing to his most benevolent disposition to procure by his representations some speedy relief; but at a full meeting of merchants and traders the address was disclaimed. Thirty-three citizens of Marblehead, who signed a similar paper, brought upon themselves the public reprobation of their townsmen. Hutchinson had merited in civil cases the praise of an impartial judge; twenty-four lawyers, including judges of admiralty and attorneys of the crown, subscribed an extravagant panegyric of his general character and conduct; but those who, for learning and integrity, most adorned their profession, withheld their names.

On the other hand, the necessity of a response to the courage of the people, the hearty adhesion of the town of Providence, and the cheering letter from the old committee of New York, animated a majority of the merchants of Boston, and through their example those of the province, to an engagement to cease all importations from England. Confidence prevailed that their brethren, at least as far south as Philadelphia, would embrace the same mode of peaceful resistance. The letter which soon arrived from

that city, and which required the people of Massachusetts to retreat from their advanced position, was therefore received with impatience. But Samuel Adams suppressed all murmurs. "I am fully of the Farmer's sentiments," said he; "violence and submission would at this time be equally fatal;" but he exerted himself the more to promote the immediate suspension of commerce.

1774.
May. The legislature of Massachusetts, on the last Wednesday of May, organized the government for the year by the usual election of councillors; of these, the governor negatived the unparalleled number of thirteen, among them James Bowdoin, Samuel Dexter, William Phillips, and John Adams, than whom the province could not show purer or abler men. The desire of the assembly that he would appoint a fast was refused; "for," said he to Dartmouth, "the request was only to give an opportunity for sedition to flow from the pulpit." On Saturday the twenty-eighth, Samuel Adams was on the point of proposing a general congress, when the assembly was unexpectedly prorogued, to meet after ten days at Salem.

The people of Boston, then the most flourishing commercial town on the continent, never regretted their being the principal object of ministerial vengeance. "We shall suffer in a good cause," said the thousands who depended on their daily labor for bread; "the righteous Being, who takes care of the ravens that cry unto him, will provide for us and ours."

CHAPTER III.

VOICES FROM THE SOUTH.

• MAY, 1774, CONTINUED.

HEARTS glowed more warmly on the banks of the Patapsco. That admirable site of commerce, whose river side and hill-tops are now covered with stately warehouses, mansions, and monuments, whose bay sparkles round the prows of the swiftest barks, whose wharfs receive to their natural resting-place the wealth of the West Indies and South America, and whose happy enterprise sends across the mountains its iron pathway of many arms to the valley of the Mississippi, had for a century been tenanted only by straggling cottages. But its convenient proximity to the border counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia had been observed by Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and other bold and industrious men; and, within a few years, they had created the town of Baltimore, which already was the chief emporium within the Chesapeake Bay, and promised to become one of the most opulent and populous cities of the world. When the messages from the old committee of New York, from Philadelphia, and from Boston, reached its inhabitants, they could not "see the least grounds for expecting relief from a petition and remonstrance." They called to mind the contempt with which for ten years their petitions had been thrust aside, and were "convinced that something more sensible than supplications would best serve their purpose."

After consultation with the men of Annapolis, to whom the coolness of the Philadelphians seemed like insulting pity, and who promptly resolved to stop all trade with Great Britain, the inhabitants of the city and county of

Baltimore advocated suspending commerce with Great Britain and the West Indies, chose deputies to a colonial convention, recommended a continental congress, appointed a numerous committee of correspondence, and sent heartening words to their "friends" at Boston, as sufferers in the common cause. "The Supreme Disposer of all events," said they, "will terminate this severe trial of your patience in a happy confirmation of American freedom." For this spirited conduct, Baltimore was applauded as the model; and its example kindled new life in New York.

1774. On the twenty-eighth, the assembly of New Hamp-
May. shire, though still desiring to promote harmony with the parent land, began its organization for resisting encroachments on American rights.

Three days later, the people of New Jersey declared for a suspension of trade and a congress, and claimed "to be fellow-sufferers with Boston in the cause of liberty."

For South Carolina, the restrictive laws had been beneficially modified in favor of its great staple, rice; and the character of the laborers on its soil forbade all thought of rivalling British skill in manufactures. Its wealthy inhabitants, shunning the occupations of city life, loved to reside in hospitable elegance on their large and productive estates. Its annual exports to the northern provinces were of small account, while to Great Britain they exceeded two millions of dollars in value. Enriched by this commerce, its people cherished a warm affection for the mother country, and delighted in sending their sons "home," as England was called, for their education. The harbor of Charleston was almost unguarded, except by the sand-bar at its entrance. The Creeks and Cherokees on the frontier, against whom the English government had once been solicited by South Carolina herself to send over a body of troops as a protection, were still numerous and warlike. The negro slaves, who in the country near the ocean very far outnumbered all the free, were so many hostages for the allegiance of their masters. The trade of Charleston was in the hands of British factors, some of whom speculated already on the coming confiscation of the rice-swamps and indigo-fields of

"many a bonnie rebel." The upland country was numerously peopled by men who felt no grievances, and were blindly devoted to the king. And yet the planters, loving their civil rights more than security and ease, refused to take counsel of their interests or their danger. "Boston," said they, "is but the first victim at the altar of tyranny." Reduced to the dilemma either to hold their liberties as tenants at will of the British house of commons, or to prepare for resistance, their choice was never in doubt. "The whole continent," they said, "must be animated with one great soul, and all Americans must resolve to stand by one another even unto death. Should they fail, the constitution of the mother country itself would lose its excellence." They knew the imminent ruin which they risked; but they "remembered that the happiness of many generations and many millions depended on their spirit and constancy."

1774.
May.

The burgesses of Virginia sat as usual in May. The extension of the province to the west and north-west was their great ambition, which the governor, greedy of large masses of land, and of fees for conniving at the acquisitions of others, selfishly seconded, in flagrant disregard of his instructions. To Lady Dunmore, who had just arrived, the assembly voted a congratulatory address, and its members joined to give her a ball. The feeling of loyalty was still predominant; the thought of revolution was not harbored; but they none the less held it their duty to resist the systematic plan of parliamentary despotism; and, without waiting for an appeal from Boston, they resolved on its deliverance. First among them as an orator stood Patrick Henry, whose words had power to kindle in his hearers passions like his own. But eloquence was his least merit: he was revered as the ideal of a patriot of Rome in its austere age. The approach of danger quickened his sagacity, and his language gained the boldness of prophecy. He was borne up by the strong support of Richard Henry Lee and Washington. It chanced that George Mason also was then at Williamsburg, a man of strong and true affections; learned in constitutional law; a profound reasoner; honest and fearless in council; shunning ambition and public life, from sorrow at

the death of his wife, for whom he never ceased to mourn ; but earnestly mindful of his country, as became one whose chastened spirit looked beyond the interests of the moment. After deliberation with these associates, Jefferson prepared the measure that was to declare irrevocably the policy of Virginia ; and its house of burgesses, on the twenty-fourth, on motion of Robert Carter Nicholas, adopted the concerted resolution, which was in itself a solemn invocation of God as the witness of their purpose to rescue their liberties even at the risk of being compelled to defend them with arms. It recommended to their fellow-citizens that the day on which the Boston port act was to take effect should be set apart "as a day of fasting and prayer, devoutly to implore the divine interposition for averting the dreadful calamity which threatened destruction to their civil rights, and the evils of a civil war ; and to give to the American people one heart and one mind firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights." The

1774.
May.

resolve, which bound only the members themselves, was distributed by express through their respective counties as a general invitation to the people. Especially Washington sent the notice to his constituents ; and Mason charged his little household of sons and daughters to keep the day strictly, and attend church clad in mourning.

On the morning which followed the adoption of this measure, Dunmore dissolved the house. The burgesses immediately repaired to the Raleigh tavern, about one hundred paces from the capitol ; and with Peyton Randolph, their late speaker, in the chair, voted that the attack on Massachusetts was an attack on all the colonies, to be opposed by the united wisdom of all. In conformity with this declaration, they advised for future time an annual continental congress. They named Peyton Randolph, with others, a committee of correspondence to invite a general concurrence in this design. As yet social relations were not embittered. Washington, of whom Dunmore sought information respecting western affairs, continued his visits at the governor's house ; the ball in honor of Lady Dunmore was well attended. Not till the offices of courtesy and of

patriotism were fulfilled, did most of the burgesses return home, leaving their committee on duty.

On the afternoon of Sunday the twenty-ninth, the letters from Boston reached Williamsburg. So impor-^{1774.}
tant did they appear that the next morning, at ten o'clock, ^{May.} the committee, having called to their aid Washington and all other burgesses who were still in town, inaugurated a revolution. Being but twenty-five in number, they refused to assume the responsibility of definite measures of resistance; but, as the province was without a legislature, they summoned a convention of delegates to be elected by the several counties, and to meet at the capitol on the first day of the ensuing August.

The rescue of freedom even at the cost of a civil war, a domestic convention of the people for their own internal regulation, an annual congress of all the colonies for the perpetual assertion of common rights, were the policy of Virginia. When the report of her measures reached England, the startled ministers called to mind how often she had been the model for other colonies. Her influence continued undiminished; and her system was promptly adopted by the people of North Carolina.

"Lord North had no expectation that we should be thus sustained," said Samuel Adams; "he trusted that Boston would be left to fall alone." But the love of liberty in America did not flash on the surface; it penetrated the mass with magnetic energy. The port act had been received on the tenth of May; and in three weeks, less time than was taken by the unanimous British parliament for its enactment, the continent, as "one great commonwealth," made the cause of Boston its own.

CHAPTER IV.

MASSACHUSETTS APPOINTS THE TIME AND PLACE FOR A
GENERAL CONGRESS.

JUNE, 1774.

ON the first day of June, Hutchinson embarked for England; and, as the clocks in the Boston belfries finished striking twelve, the blockade of the harbor began.
^{1774.}
June 1. The inhabitants of the town were chiefly traders, shipwrights, and sailors; and, since no anchor could be weighed, no sail unfurled, no vessel so much as launched from the stocks, their cheerful industry was at an end. No more are they to lay the keel of the fleet merchantman, or shape the rib symmetrically for its frame, or strengthen the graceful hull by knees of oak, or rig the well-proportioned masts, or bend the sails to the yards. The king of that country has changed the busy workshops into scenes of compulsory idleness; and the most skilful naval artisans in the world, with the keenest eye for forms of beauty and speed, are forced by act of parliament to fold their hands. Want scowled on the laborer, as he sat with his wife and children at his board. The sailor roamed the streets listlessly without hope of employment. The law was executed with a rigor that went beyond the intentions of its authors. Not a scow could be manned by oars to bring an ox or a sheep or a bundle of hay from the islands. All water carriage from pier to pier, though but of lumber or bricks or lime, was forbidden. The boats that plied between Boston and Charlestown could not ferry a parcel of goods across Charles River; the fishermen of Marblehead, when from their hard pursuit they bestowed quintals of dried fish on the poor of Boston, were obliged to transport their offer-

ing in wagons by a circuit of thirty miles. The warehouses of the thrifty merchants were at once made valueless; the costly wharfs, which extended far into the channel, and were so lately covered with the produce of the ^{1774.} June. tropics and with English fabrics, were become solitary places; the harbor, which had resounded incessantly with the lively voices of prosperous commerce, was disturbed by no sounds but from British vessels of war.

At Philadelphia, the bells of the churches were muffled and tolled; the ships in port hoisted their colors at half mast; and nine tenths of the houses, except those of the Friends, were shut during the memorable first of June. In Virginia, the population thronged the churches; Washington attended the service, and strictly kept the fast. No firmer words were addressed to the sufferers than from Norfolk, which was the largest place of trade in that "well-watered and extensive dominion," and which, from its deep channel and nearness to the ocean, lay most exposed to ships-of-war. "Our hearts are warmed with affection for you," such was its message; "we address the Almighty Ruler to support you in your afflictions. Be assured we consider you as suffering in the common cause, and look upon ourselves as bound by the most sacred ties to support you."

Jefferson, from the foot of the Blue Ridge of the Alleghanies, condemned the act, which in a moment reduced an ancient and wealthy town from opulence to want, and, without a hearing and without discrimination, sacrificed property of the value of millions to revenge, not repay, the loss of a few thousands. "If the pulse of the people beat calmly under such an experiment by the new and till now unheard of executive power of a British parliament," said the young statesman, "another and another will be tried, till the measure of despotism be filled up."

At that time, the king was so eager to give effect to the law which subverted the charter of Massachusetts, that, acting upon information confessedly insufficient, he, with Dartmouth, made out for that province a complete list of councillors, called mandamus councillors from their ap-

pointment by the crown. Copies of letters from Franklin and from Arthur Lee had been obtained ; Gage was secretly ordered to procure, if possible, the originals, as the ground for arraigning their authors for treason. Bernard and Hutchinson had reported that the military power failed to intimidate, because no colonial civil officer would sanction its employment ; to meet the exigency, Thurlow and Wedderburn furnished their opinion, that such power belonged to the governor himself as the conservator of the peace in all cases whatsoever. "I am willing to suppose," says Dartmouth, "that the people will quietly submit to the correction their ill conduct has brought upon them ;" but, in case they should not prove so docile, Gage was required to bid the troops fire upon them at his discretion ; and, for his encouragement, he was informed that all trials of officers and troops for homicides in America were, by a recent act of parliament, removed to England.

This system of measures was regarded by its authors as a masterpiece of statesmanship. But where was true greatness really to be found ? At the council board of vindictive ministers ? With the king, who preferred the loss of
1774.
June. a continent to a compromise of absolute power ? Or in the humble mansion of the proscribed Samuel Adams, who shared every sorrow of his native town ? "She suffers," said he, "with dignity ; and, rather than submit to the humiliating terms of an edict barbarous beyond precedent under the most absolute monarchy, she will put the malice of tyranny to the severest trial." "An empire is rising in America ; and Britain, by her multiplied oppressions, is accelerating that independency which she dreads. We have a post to maintain, to desert which would entail upon us the curses of posterity. The virtue of our ancestors inspires us ; they were contented with clams and mussels. For my own part, I have been wont to converse with poverty ; and, however disagreeable a companion she may be thought to be by the affluent and luxurious who never were acquainted with her, I can live happily with her the remainder of my days, if I can thereby contribute to the redemption of my country." These were his words, with

the knowledge that the king's order for his arrest was hanging over his head, to be enforced whenever troops enough were brought together to make it safe.

On the second of June, the Boston committee received and read the two bills, of which the one was ^{1774.} _{June 2.} to change the charter and subvert the most cherished rights of the province, the other to grant impunity to the British army for acts of violence in enforcing the new system. "They excited," says their record, "a just indignation in the mind of the committee," whose members saw their option confined to abject submission or an open rupture. They longed to escape the necessity of the choice by devising some measure which might recall their oppressors to moderation and reason. Accordingly, Warren, on the fifth, reported "a solemn league and covenant" to suspend all commercial intercourse with the mother country, and neither to purchase nor consume any merchandise from Great Britain after the last day of the ensuing August. The names of those who should refuse to sign the covenant were to be published to the world. Copies of this paper were forwarded to every town in the province, with a letter entreating the subscriptions of all the people, "as the last and only method of preserving the land from slavery without drenching it in blood."

The proposition proved the desire for conciliation. Had a country which was without manufactures and munitions of war been resolved to take up arms, it would have extended its commerce, in order to accumulate all articles of first necessity. "Nothing," said the patriots, "is more foreign from our hearts than a spirit of rebellion. Would to God they all, even our enemies, knew the warm attachment we have for Great Britain, notwithstanding we have been contending these ten years with them for our rights. What can they gain by the victory, should they subjugate us? What will be the glory of enslaving their children and brothers? Nay, how great will be the danger to their own liberties?" Thus reasoned the people of the country towns in Massachusetts; and they signed "the league and covenant," confident that they would have only to sit still

and await the bloodless restoration of their rights. In this expectation they were confirmed by the opinions of Burke and of Franklin.

1774.
June.

From the committee room in Faneuil Hall, Samuel Adams hastened to the general assembly, whose first act at Salem was a protest against the arbitrary order for its removal. The council, in making the customary reply to the governor's speech, was listened to as they laid claim to the rights of Englishmen without diminution or "abridgment." But when they proceeded to read their hope, "that his administration would be a happy contrast to that of his predecessors," Gage interrupted their chairman, and refused to receive the address; giving as his reason, that the conduct of those predecessors had been approved, and therefore the language "was an insult to the king and an affront to himself." But the right of a legislative body to utter an opinion on a subordinate executive officer was undeniable. The king hears an address from the house of commons, however severely it may reflect on a minister. When Gage treated the censure on Bernard and Hutchinson as a personal conflict with the sovereign, his petulance tended to bring that sovereign himself into disrepute.

The house of representatives was the fullest ever known. The continent expected of them to fix the time and place for the meeting of the general congress. This required the utmost secrecy; for they were watched by officers in the royal service, and any perceptible movement would have been followed by an instant dissolution. In the confusion of nominations, Daniel Leonard, of Taunton, who had won his election by engaging manners and professions of patriotism, which yet were hollow, succeeded in being appointed one of the committee of nine on the state of the province. Restrained by well-founded distrust of his secret relations, that committee was cautious to entertain nothing but vague propositions for conciliation; so that Leonard deceived not himself only, but the governor, into the belief that the legislature would lead the way to concession, and that, on the arrival of more troops, an indemnity to the East India company would be publicly advocated.

The continent was looking towards Boston. "Don't pay for an ounce of the damned tea," wrote Gadsden, on the fourteenth of June, as he shipped for the poor of Boston the first gifts of rice from the planters of Carolina. On that day, the fourth regiment, known as "the king's own," encamped on Boston common; the next, it was joined by the forty-third. Two companies of artillery and eight pieces of ordnance had already re-enforced Castle William; and more battalions of infantry were hourly expected. The friends of government exerted every art to win over the tradesmen. "There will be no congress," they said; "New York will never appoint members; Massachusetts must feel that she is deserted." To a meeting of tradesmen, a plausible speaker ventured to recommend for consideration the manner of paying for the tea; and he met with so much success that, after some altercation, they separated without coming to any resolution. But Warren, who exerted as much energy to save his country as others to paralyze its spirit and was encouraged by the glowing letter from Baltimore, proved to his friends that the payment in any form would open the way for every compliance even to a total submission. "Vigilance, activity, and patience," he cried, "are necessary at this time; but the mistress we serve is Liberty, and it is better to die than not to obtain her." "We shall be saved," he added; and, that no cloud might rest on the "fortitude, honesty, and foresight" of Boston, a town-meeting was called for the following Friday.

Samuel Adams received a summons to come and guide its debates; but a higher duty kept him at Salem. The legislative committee of nine appeared so tame that Leonard returned to Taunton on business as a lawyer. Meantime, Samuel Adams had on one evening secretly consulted four or five of his colleagues; on another, a larger number; on the third, so many as thirty; and on the morning of Friday the seventeenth of June, confident of having the control of the house, one hundred and twenty-nine being present, he locked the door, and proposed the measure he had matured. The time fixed for the congress was the first day of September; the place, Philadelphia, where there was no army

to interrupt its sessions. Bowdoin, who, however, proved unable to attend, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Cushing, and Robert Treat Paine were chosen delegates. To defray their expenses, a tax of five hundred pounds was apportioned on the province. The towns were charged to afford speedy and constant relief to Boston and Charlestown, whose fortitude was preserving the liberties of their country. Domestic manufactures were encouraged, and it was strongly recommended to discontinue the use of all goods imported from the East Indies and Great Britain, until the grievances of America should be radically redressed.

1774. In the midst of these proceedings, the governor
June. sent his secretary with a message for dissolving the assembly. But he knocked at its door in vain, and could only read the proclamation to the crowd on the stairs.

The number which on that same day thronged to the town-meeting in Faneuil Hall was greater than the room would hold. Samuel Adams was not missed; for his kinsman, John Adams, was elected moderator. When he had taken the chair, the friends to the scheme of indemnifying the East India company for their loss were invited to "speak freely," that a matter of such importance might be fairly discussed in the presence of the general body of the people; but not a man rose in defence of the proposition. The blockade, the fleets, the army, could not bring out a symptom of compliance.

A month before, John Adams had said: "I have very little connection with public affairs, and I hope to have less." For many years, he had refused to attend town-meetings; he had kept aloof from the committee of correspondence, even in the time when it concerted the destruction of the tea. The morning of that day dawned on him in private life; the evening saw him a representative of Massachusetts to the general congress. That summer he followed the circuit for the last time. "Great Britain," thus Sewall, his friend and associate at the bar, expostulated with him, as they strolled together on the hill that overhangs Casco Bay with its thousand isles, "Great Britain is determined on her system; and her power is irresistible." "Swim or sink,

live or die, survive or perish with my country, is my unalterable determination," answered Adams. "I see we must part," rejoined Sewall; "but this adieu is the sharpest thorn on which I ever set my foot."

Two days in advance of Massachusetts, the assembly of Rhode Island unanimously chose delegates to the general congress, which they desired to see annually renewed.

Maryland could proceed only by a convention of its people. But so universal was their zeal, so rapid their organization, that their provincial convention met at Annapolis on the twenty-second of June, and, before ^{1774.} June. any message had been received from Salem, they elected delegates to the congress. With a modesty worthy of their courage, they apologized to Virginia for moving in advance; pleading as their excuse the inferiority of their province in extent and numbers, so that less time was needed to ascertain its sentiments.

CHAPTER V.

BOSTON MINISTERED TO BY THE CONTINENT.

JUNE, JULY, 1774.

1774.
June. THE martyr town was borne up in its agony by messages of sympathy. From Marblehead came offers to the Boston merchants of the gratuitous use of its harbor, its wharfs, its warehouses, and of all necessary personal attendance in lading and unlading goods. Forty-eight persons were found in Salem, willing to entreat of Gage his "patronage for the trade of that place;" but a hundred and twenty-five of its merchants and freeholders, in an address drafted by Timothy Pickering, repelled the ungenerous thought of turning the course of trade from Boston. "Nature," said they nobly, "in the formation of our harbor, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce to that convenient mart. And, were it otherwise, we must be lost to all the feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbors."

The governor, in his answer, threw all blame on Boston for refusing to indemnify the East India company; and he employed every device to produce compliance. It was published at the corners of the streets that Pennsylvania would refuse to suspend commerce; that the society of Friends would arrest every step towards war; that New York had not named, and would never name, deputies to congress; that the power of Great Britain could not fail to crush resistance. The exasperation of the selfish at their losses, which they attributed to the committee of correspondence, the innate reverence for order, the habitual feeling of loyalty, the deeply seated love for England, the terror inspired by regiments, artillery, and ships-of-war, the allurements of

official favor, the confidence that the king must prevail, disposed a considerable body of men to concession.

“The act,” wrote Gage on the twenty-sixth, “must 1774.
June. certainly sooner or later work its own way: a congress of some sort may be obtained; but, after all, Boston may get little more than fair words.”

The day after this was written, a town-meeting was held. As Faneuil Hall could not contain the thronging inhabitants, they adjourned to the Old South meeting-house. There the opposition mustered their utmost strength, in the hope of carrying a vote of censure on the committee of correspondence. The question of paying for the tea was artfully evaded; while “the league and covenant,” which in truth was questionable both in policy and form, was chosen as the object of cavil. New York had superseded the old committee by a more moderate one; it was proposed that Boston should do the same. The patriot Samuel Adams, finding himself not only proscribed by the king, but on trial in a Boston town-meeting, left the chair, and took his place on the floor. His enemies summoned hardihood to engage with him in debate, in which they were allowed the utmost freedom. Through the midsummer day they were heard patiently till dark, and at their own request were indulged with an adjournment. On the next day, notwithstanding the utmost exertion of the influence of the government, the motion of censure was negatived by a vast majority. The town then, by a decisive vote, bore its testimony “to the upright intentions and honest zeal of their committee of correspondence,” and desired them “to continue steadfast in the way of well-doing.” Of the opposition, one hundred and twenty-nine, chiefly the addressers to Hutchinson, confident of a speedy triumph through the power of Britain, ostentatiously set their names to a protest, which, under the appearance of anxiety for the prosperity of the town, recommended unqualified submission. They would have robbed Boston of its great name, and made it a byword of reproach in the annals of the world.

The governor hurried to the aid of his partisans; and on the following day, without the consent of the council, issued

the proclamation, from which British influence never recovered. He called the combination not to purchase articles imported from Great Britain "unwarrantable, hostile, and traitorous;" its subscribers, "open and declared enemies of the king and parliament of Great Britain;" and he "enjoined all magistrates and other officers, within the several counties of the province, to apprehend and secure for trial all persons who might publish or sign, or invite others to sign, the covenant."

The malignity of the imputation of treason was heightened by the pretended rule of law that the persons so accused might be dragged for trial to England. For any purpose of making arrests the proclamation was useless; but, as the exponent of the temper of an administration which chose the gallows to avenge the simple agreement not to buy English goods, it was read throughout the continent with uncontrollable indignation. In Boston, the report prevailed that, as soon as more soldiers should be landed, six or seven of the leading patriots would be seized; and it was in truth the project of Gage to fasten charges of rebellion on indi-

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July.

viduals as a pretext for sending them to jail. On Friday the first of July, Admiral Graves arrived in the "Preston," of sixty guns; on Saturday, the train of artillery was encamped on the common by the side of two regiments that were there before. On Monday, these were re-enforced by the fifth and thirty-eighth. Arrests, it was confidently reported, were now to be made. In this moment of greatest danger, the Boston committee of correspondence, Samuel Adams, the two Greenleafs, Molineux, Warren, and others being present, considered the rumor that some of them were to be taken up, and voted unanimously "that they would attend their business as usual, unless prevented by brutal force."

The attempt to intimidate gave an impulse to the covenant. At Plymouth, the subscribers increased to about a hundred. The general, who had undertaken to frighten the people, excused himself for not executing his threats, by complaining that the edicts of town-meetings controlled the pulpit, the press, and the multitude, overawed the judges,

and screened "the guilty." "The usurpation," said he, "has by time acquired a firmness that is not to be annihilated at once, or by ordinary methods."

The arrival of Hutchinson in England lulled the king into momentary security. Tryon from New York had said that the ministers must put forth the whole power of Great Britain, if they would bring America to their feet; Carleton thought it not safe to undertake a march from the St. Lawrence to New York with less than ten thousand men; but Hutchinson, who, on reaching London, was hurried by Dartmouth to the royal presence without time to change his clothes, assured the king that the port bill was "the only wise and effective method" of bringing the people of Boston to submission; that it had occasioned among them extreme alarm; that no one colony would comply with their request for a general suspension of commerce; that Rhode Island had accompanied its refusal with a sneer at their selfishness. The king listened eagerly. He had been greedy for all kinds of stories respecting Boston; had been told, and had believed, that Hutchinson had needed a guard for his personal safety; that the New England ministers, for the sake of promoting liberty, preached a toleration for any immoralities; that Hancock's bills, to a large amount, had been dishonored. He knew something of the political opinions even of the Boston ministers, not of Chauncy and Cooper only, but also of Pemberton, whom, as a friend to government, he esteemed "a very good man," though a dissenter. The name of John Adams, who had only in June commenced his active public career, had not yet been heard in the palace which he was so soon to enter as the minister of a republic. Of Cushing, he estimated the importance too highly. Aware of the controlling power of Samuel Adams, he asked: "What gives him his influence?" and Hutchinson answered: "A great pretended zeal for liberty, and a most inflexible natural temper. He was the first who asserted the independency of the colonies upon the supreme authority of the kingdom." For nearly two hours, the king continued his inquiries, and was encouraged in the delusion that Boston would be left unsupported.

The author of the pleasing intelligence obtained a large pension, was offered the rank of baronet, and was consulted as an oracle by Gibbon the historian, and other politicians of the court.

1774. "I have just seen the governor of Massachusetts,"
July. wrote the king to Lord North, "and I am now well convinced the province will soon submit;" and he gloried in the efficacy of his favorite measure, the Boston port act. But, as soon as the true character of that act became known in America, every colony, every city, every village, and, as it were, the inmates of every farm-house, felt it as a wound of their affections. The towns of Massachusetts abounded in kind offices. The colonies vied with each other in liberality. The record kept at Boston shows that "the patriotic and generous people" of South Carolina were the first to minister to the sufferers, sending early in June two hundred barrels of rice, and promising eight hundred more. At Wilmington, North Carolina, the sum of two thousand pounds currency was raised in a few days; the women of the place gave liberally; Parker Quince offered his vessel to carry a load of provisions freight free, and master and mariners volunteered to navigate her without wages. Lord North had called the American union a rope of sand: "It is a rope of sand that will hang him," said the people of Wilmington.

Hartford was the first place in Connecticut to pledge its assistance; but the earliest donation received was of two hundred and fifty-eight sheep from Windham. "Gentlemen" of Norwich drove two hundred and ninety-one, the gift of that town. "The taking away of civil liberty will involve the ruin of religious liberty also," wrote the ministers of Connecticut to the ministers of Boston, cheering them to bear their heavy load "with vigorous Christian fortitude and resolution." "While we complain to heaven and earth of the cruel oppression we are under, we ascribe righteousness to God," was the answer. "The surprising union of the colonies affords encouragement. It is an inexhaustible source of comfort that the Lord God omnipotent reigneth."

The small parish of Brooklyn in Connecticut, through their committee, of which Israel Putnam was a member, opened a correspondence with Boston. "Your zeal in favor of liberty," they said, "has gained a name that shall perish but with the glorious constellations of heaven;" and they made an offering of flocks of sheep and lambs. Throughout New England, the towns sent rye, flour, peas, cattle, sheep, oil, fish; whatever land or sea could furnish, and sometimes gifts of money. The French inhabitants of Quebec, joining with those of English origin, shipped a thousand and forty bushels of wheat.

Delaware devised plans for sending relief annually. A special chronicle could hardly enumerate all the generous deeds. Maryland and Virginia contributed liberally; being resolved that the men of Boston, who were deprived of their daily labor, should not lose their daily bread, nor be compelled to change their residence for want. Washington headed a subscription paper with a gift of fifty pounds; and, on the eighteenth of July, he presided at a convention of Fairfax county, where twenty-four very comprehensive resolutions, which had been drafted by George Mason and carefully revised by a committee, were, with but one dissentient voice, adopted by the freeholders and inhabitants. They derived the settlement of Virginia from a solemn compact with the crown, conceded no right of legislation to the British parliament, acknowledged only a conditional acquiescence in the acts of navigation, enumerated the various infringements of American rights, proposed non-importation and, if necessary, non-exportation as means of temporary resistance, urged the appointment of a congress of deputies from all the colonies, and recommended that that congress should conjure the king "not to reduce his faithful subjects to a state of desperation, and to reflect that from their sovereign there could be but one appeal." As to the further importation of slaves, their words were: "We take this opportunity of declaring our most earnest wishes to see an entire stop for ever put to such a wicked, cruel, and unnatural trade." These resolves, which expressed "the sense of the people of Fairfax county," were

ordered to be presented to the first convention of Virginia. "We are not contending against paying the duty of three-pence per pound on tea as burthensome," said Washington: "no, it is the right only that we have all along disputed."

Beyond the Blue Ridge, the hardy emigrants on the banks of the Shenandoah, many of them Germans, met at Woodstock; and with Muhlenberg, then a clergyman, soon to be a military chief, devoted themselves to the cause of liberty. Higher up the valley of Virginia, where the
1774. plough already vied with the rifle, and the hardy hunt-
July. ers had also begun to till the soil, the summer of that year ripened the wheat-fields of the pioneers not for themselves alone. When the sheaves had been harvested, and the corn threshed and ground in a country as yet poorly provided with barns or mills, the backwoodsmen of Augusta county, without any pass through the mountains that could be called a road, delivered at Frederick one hundred and thirty-seven barrels of flour as their remittance to the poor of Boston. Cheered by the universal sympathy, the inhabitants of that town "were determined to hold out, and appeal to the justice of the colonies and of the world;" trusting in God that "these things should be overruled for the establishment of liberty, virtue, and happiness in America."

CHAPTER VI.

AMERICA RESOLVES TO MEET IN GENERAL CONGRESS.

JULY, 1774.

GEORGE III. ranked "New York next to Boston in opposition to government." There was no place where a congress was more desired, and none where the determinations of the congress were more sure to be observed. The numerous emigrants from New England brought with them New England principles; the Dutch, as a body, never loved Britain. Of the two great families which the system of manorial grants had raised up, the Livingstons inclined to republicanism, and, uniting activity to wealth and ability, exercised a predominant influence. The Delanceys, who by taking advantage of temporary prejudices had, four years before, carried the assembly, no longer retained the public confidence, and outside of the legislature their power was imperceptible.

After being severed from Holland, its mother country, New York had no attachment to any European state. All agreed in the necessity of resisting the pretensions of England; but differences arose as to the persons to be intrusted with the direction of that resistance, and as to the imminence and extent of the danger. The merchants wished no interruption to commerce; the Dutch Reformed Church, as well as the Episcopalians, were not free from jealousy of the Congregationalists, and the large land-holders were alarmed by the levelling spirit and social equality of New England. The people of New York had destroyed consignments of the East India company's tea; but from them the British ministry had borne the insult without rebuke, striving only by bland language to lull them into repose.

The executive officers had for several years avoided strife with the assembly, listening patiently to its complaints, and seeking to comply with its importunities; so that no angry feeling existed between the provincial legislature and the royal governors. The city had, moreover, been the centre of British patronage; and friends had been won by the distribution of contracts, and sometimes by commissions in the army. The organs of the ministry were to cajole, to favor, or to corrupt; above all, to give a promise on the part of the crown of a spirit of equity, which its conduct towards the province seemed to warrant as sincere. Besides, the assembly had Edmund Burke for its agent, and still hoped that his influence would correspond to their just estimate of his fidelity. The lovers of peace, which is always so dear to a commercial community, revolted at the thought of an early and unavoidable "appeal" to arms, caught eagerly at every chance of an honorable escape from the certain miseries of a desperate conflict, and exerted themselves strenuously to secure the management of affairs to men of property. For this end, they relied on the ability of John Jay, a young lawyer of New York, whose name now first appears conspicuously in the annals of his country. Descended from Huguenot refugees; educated in the city at its college; of the severest purity of morals; a hard student, an able writer, a ready speaker; recently connected with the family of Livingston by marriage, — his superior endowments, his activity, and his zeal for liberty, tempered by a love for order, made him for a quarter of a century distinguished in his native state. At this time, he joined the dignity of manhood to the energy of youth. He was both shy and proud; and his pride, though it became less visible, suffered no diminution from time. Tenacious of his purposes and his opinions, sensitive to indignities and prone to sudden resentments, not remarkable for self-possession, with a countenance not trained to concealment, neither easy of access, nor prompt in his advances, gifted with no quick insight into character and therefore liable to a bias from unfounded jealousy, he had neither talents nor inclination for intrigue; and but for his ambition, which

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he always subjected to his sense of right, he would have seemed formed for study and retirement.

On Monday the fourth of July, it was carried in the committee of fifty-one that delegates should be selected to serve in the general congress. ^{1774. July.} Sears, who was still foremost in the confidence of the mechanics, seconded by Peter van Brugh Livingston, a man of great intelligence, proposed John Morin Scott and Alexander Macdougall. Fitter candidates could not have been found; but they were both passed over by a great majority, and the committee nominated Philip Livingston, Alsop, Low, Duane, and Jay for the approval of the people. Of these five, Livingston as yet dreaded the thought of independence; Alsop was incompetent; Low was at heart a tory, as at a later day he avowed; Duane, justly eminent as a lawyer, was embarrassed by large speculations in Vermont lands, from which no profit could be derived but through the power of the crown. The mass of the inhabitants resolved to defeat this selection. On Wednesday the sixth of July, many of them, especially mechanics, assembled in the Fields; and, with Macdougall in the chair, they recommended the Boston policy of suspending trade, as well as approved a general congress, to which, after the example of Virginia, they proposed to elect representatives by a colonial convention.

It has been kept in memory that on this occasion a young man from abroad, so small and delicate in his organization that he appeared to be much younger than perhaps he really was, took part in the debate before the crowd. They asked one another the name of the gifted stranger, who shone like a star first seen above a haze, of whose rising no one had taken note. He proved to be Alexander Hamilton, a West Indian. His mother, while he was yet a child, had left him an orphan and poor. A father's care he seems never to have known. The first written trace of his existence is in 1766, when his name occurs as witness to a legal paper executed in the Danish island of Santa Cruz. Three years later, when he had become "a youth," he "contemned the grovelling condition of a clerk," fretted at the narrow

bounds of his island cage, and to a friend of his own years confessed his ambition. "I would willingly risk my life," said he, "though not my character, to exalt my station. I mean to prepare the way for futurity; we have seen such schemes successful when the projector is constant." That way he prepared by integrity of conduct, diligence, and study. After an education as a merchant, during which he once at least conducted a voyage, and once had the charge of his employer's business, he found himself able to repair to New York, where he entered the college before the end of 1773. Trained from childhood to take care of himself, he possessed a manly self-reliance. His first sympathies in the contest had been on the British side against the Americans, but he soon changed his opinions; and in 1774. July, 1774, cosmopolitan New York, where he had neither father nor mother, nor sister nor brother, nor one person in whose veins ran the same blood as his own, adopted the volunteer from the tropics as its son.

The committee of fifty-one, with some of whom Hamilton was to be bound by the closest political ties, keeping steadily in view the hope of conciliation with England, disavowed the meeting in the Fields. A minority of nine, Sears, Macdougall, Van Brugh Livingston being of the number, in their turn disavowed the committee from which they withdrew. The conservative party, on their side, offered resolutions which Jay had drafted, and which seemed to question the conduct of Boston in destroying the tea; but the people, moved by the eloquence of John Morin Scott, rejected the whole series, as wanting in vigor, sense, and integrity, and tending to disunion.

Thus began the conflict of two parties which were to increase in importance and spread throughout the country. The one held to what was established, and made changes only from necessity; the other welcomed reform, and went out to meet it. The one anchored on men of property; the other on the mass of the people: the one, mildly loving liberty, was ever anxious for order; the other, firmly attached to order which it never doubted its power to maintain, was anxious only for freedom: the one distrusted the

multitude as capable of rashness; the other suspected the few as at heart the enemies to popular power.

During this strife in New York, the inhabitants of South Carolina held in Charleston a meeting which 1774.
July. continued through three days. The merchants, among whom were factors for British houses, agreed with the planters in the necessity of a congress, to which both parties, by way of compromise, referred the regulation of commerce. As the election of deputies was to be contested, the name of each voter was registered, and the ballot kept open till midnight on the seventh. It then appeared that the planters had carried Gadsden, Lynch, and John Rutledge, the boldest members of the congress of 1765, with Edward Rutledge and Middleton. The delegates elect were empowered to agree to a suspension of exports as well as imports. Besides this, there was appointed a general committee of ninety-nine, of whom the disproportionate number of thirty were taken from Charleston, and nearly all the rest from the parishes near the sea. In due time, the house of assembly, meeting at eight in the morning, just half an hour before the governor sent to prorogue them, confirmed these proceedings and ratified the choice of delegates to congress.

The convention of Pennsylvania, which, with Thomas Willing for its president, was but an echo of the opinion of Dickinson, recommended an indemnity to the East India company, dissuaded from suspending trade, and advised the gentler method of a firm and decent claim of redress. The idea of independence they disowned and utterly abhorred. If Britain would repeal the obnoxious acts, they were ready to engage their obedience to the acts of navigation, and also to settle an annual revenue on the king, subject to the control of parliament. Instead of electing delegates themselves, they referred the choice to the proprietary assembly, in which Quakers and royalists had a majority; for Dickinson from the first resolved to maintain the proprietary government and charter.

These views, which were intended as instructions from the people to the men who might be chosen to represent them in congress, Dickinson accompanied with a most ela-

borate argument, in which with chilling erudition the rights of the colonies were confirmed by citations from a long train of lawyers, philosophers, poets, statesmen, and divines, from the times of Sophocles and Aristotle to Beccaria and Blackstone. Tenderly susceptible to the ideas of justice and right, he refused to believe that a British ministry or king could be deaf to his appeals; and he shrunk from perilling the fortunes and lives of millions. His success in allaying the impassioned enthusiasm of patriotism went beyond his intentions. The assembly of Pennsylvania,

which was suddenly called together on the eighteenth
1774. of July, passed him over in electing their delegates
July. to the continental congress, and preferred Galloway, their speaker, whose loyalty to the king admitted of no question, and who was suffered to draw up his own instructions.

In New Jersey, Witherspoon, a Presbyterian minister, president of Princeton College, and "as high a Son of Liberty as any man in America," met the committee at New Brunswick; and with William Livingston labored to instruct their delegates that the tea should not be paid for. The matter was left to the general congress, to which William Livingston was chosen.

In New Hampshire, the members of its convention brought with them little stocks of money, contributed by the several towns to defray the expenses of a representation in congress. The inhabitants of that province also solemnized their action by keeping a day of fasting and public prayer. Massachusetts did the same; and Gage, who looked with stupid indifference on the spectacle of thirteen colonies organizing themselves as one people, on occasion of the fast issued a proclamation against "hypocrisy and sedition."

Meantime, New York had grown weary of dissensions. The persons nominated for congress gave in writing a satisfactory profession of their zeal for liberty; and, on the twenty-seventh of July, the nomination was unanimously ratified by the inhabitants. Yet the delegation was lukewarm and divided, leaving Virginia to give the example of energy and courage.

Dunmore had issued writs for an assembly; but the dele-

gates from the counties of Virginia none the less came together in convention. Illness detained Jefferson on the road, but he sent for inspection a paper which foreshadowed the declaration of independence. It was presented by Peyton Randolph, and printed by some of the delegates. Enumerating the grievances which affected all the colonies, it made a special complaint of a wrong to Virginia. "For the most trifling reasons," said he, "and sometimes for no conceivable reason at all, his majesty has rejected laws of the most salutary tendency. The abolition of domestic slavery is the great object of desire in those colonies where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state. But, previous to the enfranchisement of the slaves we have, it is necessary to exclude all further importations from Africa; yet our repeated attempts to effect this by prohibitions, and by imposing duties which might amount to a prohibition, have been hitherto defeated by his majesty's negative; thus preferring the immediate advantage of a few British corsairs to the lasting interests of the American states, and to the rights of human nature, deeply wounded by this infamous practice." Of these words every heart acknowledged the justice. Moreover, the Fairfax resolves, in which George Mason and Washington had given their solemn judgment against the slave-trade, were brought by the Fairfax delegates before the convention; and, in August, that body came to the unanimous vote: 1774.
Aug.

"After the first day of November next, we will neither ourselves import nor purchase any slave or slaves imported by any other person, either from Africa, the West Indies, or any other place."

On the affairs of Massachusetts, the temper of the Virginians ran exceedingly high. "An innate spirit of freedom," such were the words of Washington, "tells me that the measures which the administration are most violently pursuing are opposed to every principle of natural justice." He was certain that it was neither the wish nor the interest of any government on the continent, separately or collectively, to set up independence; but he rejected indignantly the claim of parliament, and saw no "reason to expect any

thing from their justice." "The crisis," he said, "is arrived when we must assert our rights, or submit to every imposition that can be heaped upon us, till custom and use shall make us tame and abject slaves." From the first, he was convinced that there was not "any thing to be expected from petitioning." "Ought we not, then," he exclaimed, "to put our virtue and fortitude to the severest test?" Thus Washington reasoned privately with his friends. In the convention, Richard Henry Lee and Patrick Henry were heard with such delight that the one was compared to Cicero, the other to Demosthenes. But Washington, who never was able to see distress without a desire to assuage it, made the most effective speech when he uttered the wish to "raise one thousand men, subsist them at his own expense, and march at their head for the relief of Boston."

1774. Through the press, the great lawyer Thomson Ma-
Aug. son denied the right of a British parliament to make laws for the colonies, and specially held up the laws of navigation "as a badge of slavery, never to be submitted to" on its authority. The wrongs done to Boston seemed to him "little less than a declaration of war." "In order to make the repelling of illegal force one general act of all America, let each colony," said he, "send a quota of men to perform this service, and let the respective quotas be settled in the general congress. These measures will, in my opinion, be the most moderate, the most constitutional, and the most effectual you can pursue. I do not wish to survive the liberty of my country one single moment, and am determined to risk my all in supporting it."

The resolves and instructions of Virginia corresponded to this spirit. They claimed "reason to expect" that the restrictions on navigation should be restrained. Especially were they incensed at the threat of Gage to use the deadly weapon of constructive treason against such inhabitants of Massachusetts as should assemble to consider of their grievances, and form associations for their common conduct; and they voted that "the attempt to execute this illegal and odious proclamation would justify resistance and reprisal."

The first provincial congress of North Carolina met in August, at Newbern, under the eye and in 1774.
Aug. defiance of its governor. Their comprehensive resolutions left nothing to desire in manner or in substance. The rights of America were clearly stated and absolutely claimed: a convention of a county in Massachusetts could not have better enumerated the acts of that province which they approved. If grievances were not redressed, they were ready to cease all importations and all exportations even of the staples on which their prosperity depended. They heartily approved the meeting of a continental congress; and electing Hooper, Hughes, and Caswell as their deputies, they invested them with the amplest powers.

After their adjournment, James Iredell, of Edenton, a British official, addressed through the press the inhabitants of Great Britain, as constituting the greatest state on earth because it was the most free; and as able to preserve the connection with America only by delighting in seeing their friends as free and happy as themselves.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CABINET OF LOUIS XVI.

JULY, 1774.

IN France, Louis XVI. had selected ministers, of whom a part only were disposed to take advantage of the perplexities of England; but they were the more likely to prevail from the unsteadiness of the administration, which sprung from his own character and made his life a long equipoise between right intentions and executive feebleness. His turn of mind was serious; yet his countenance, seeming to promise probity, betrayed irresolution. In manner, he was awkward and embarrassed, and even at his own court ill at ease; and his appearance in public did not accord with his station or his youth. He had neither military science, nor martial spirit, nor gallant bearing; and in the eyes of a warlike nation, which interpreted his torpid languor as a want of courage, he was sure to fall into contempt.

In the conduct of affairs, his sphere of vision was narrow; and he applied himself chiefly to details or matters of little importance. Conforming to the public wish, he began by dismissing the ministers of the late king, and then felt the need of a guide. Marie Antoinette would have recalled Choiseul, the supporter of an intimate friendship between France and Austria, the passionate adversary of England, the prophet and the favorer of American independence; but filial respect restrained the king, for Choiseul had been his father's enemy. He turned to his aunts for advice; and their choice fell on the Count de Maurepas, from their regard to his experience, general good character, and independence of the parties at court.

Not descended from the old nobility, Maurepas belonged to a family which, within a hundred and fifty years, had furnished nine secretaries of state. He came into office in the last days of Louis XIV. Under the successor of that monarch, he made it his glory to restore the navy of his country; and, while he had the repute of hating England, he appeared in the range of his mind so superior to his colleagues, that foreign envoys at Paris foretold for France the playing of a great part, if he ever should be intrusted with the government. It is some proof of his independence that he was sent into retirement by Louis XV. for writing verses that offended the king's mistress. At the age of seventy-three, and after an exile of twenty-five years, 1774.
July. he was still as he had been in youth, polite, selfish, jealous, superficial, and frivolous. Despising gravity of manner and airs of mystery as ridiculous, and incapable of serious passion or profound reflection, he charmed by the courtesy and ease of his conversation. He enjoyed the present moment, and was careless of the future which he was not to share; taking all things so easily that age did not wear him out. Full of petty artifice in attack, of sly dexterity in defence, he could put aside weighty objections by mirth, and laugh even at merit, having no faith in virtues that were difficult, and deriding the love of country as a vain boast or a stratagem to gain an end. With all the patronage of France in his gift, he took from the treasury only enough to meet his increased expenses, keeping house with well-ordered simplicity, and at his death leaving neither debts nor savings. Present tranquillity was his object, rather than honor among coming generations. He was naturally liberal, and willing that the public good should prevail, but not at the cost of his repose; above all, not at the risk of his ascendancy with the king. A jealousy of superior talents was his only ever wakeful passion. He had no malignity, and found no pleasure in revenge; when envy led him to remove a colleague who threatened to become a rival, he never pursued him with bitterness or dismissed him to exile. To foreign ambassadors he paid the attentions claimed by their station; but the professions

which he lavished with graceful levity had such an air of nothingness that no one ever confided in them enough to gain the right of charging him seriously with duplicity. To men of every condition he never forgot to show due regard, disguising his unfailing deference to rank by freedom of remark and gayety. He granted a favor without assuming the air of a benefactor; and he softened a refusal by reasons that were soothing to the petitioner's self-love. His administration was sure to be weak, for it was his maxim never to hold out against any one who had power enough to be formidable, and he wished to please alike the courtiers and public opinion; the nobility and the philosophers; those who stickled for the king's absolute sway and those who clamored for the restoration of parliaments; those who wished a cordial understanding with England and those who favored her insurgent colonies.

1774.
July.

Louis XVI. was looking for an experienced and firm guide to correct his own indecision; and he fell upon a complacent, well-mannered old gentleman, who had the same fault with himself, and was chiefly fit to give lessons in etiquette or enliven business by pleasantry. Yet the king retained Maurepas as minister more than seven years without a suspicion of his incompetency. No statesman of his century had a more prosperous old age, or such felicity in the circumstances of his death.

Declining a special department, Maurepas, as the head of the cabinet, selected his own associates, choosing men by whom he feared neither to be superseded nor eclipsed. To the Count de Vergennes was assigned the department of foreign affairs. The veteran statesman, then fifty-seven years old, was of plebeian origin, and married to a plebeian; unsupported by the high nobility, and without claims on Austria or Marie Antoinette. His father had been president of the parliament at Dijon. His own diplomatic career began in 1740, and had been marked by moderation, vigilance, and success. He had neither the adventurous daring nor the levity of Choiseul; but he had equal acquaintance with courts, equal sensitiveness to the dignity of France, and greater self-control. He was dis-

tinguished among ministers as indefatigably laborious, conducting affairs with method, rectitude, and clearness. He had not the rapid intuitions of genius, but his character was firm, his mode of thinking liberal, and he loved to surround himself with able men. His conversation was guarded; his manner, grave and coldly polite. As he served a weak king, he was always on his guard, and to give a categorical answer was his aversion. Like nearly every Frenchman, he was thoroughly a monarchist; and he also loved Louis XVI., whose good opinion he gained at once and ever retained. Eleven years before, he had predicted that the conquest of Canada would hasten the independence of British America, and he was now from vantage-ground to watch his prophecy come true.

The philosophers of the day, like the king, wished the happiness of the people, and public opinion required that they should be represented in the cabinet. Maurepas complied; and in July, 1774, the place of minister of the marine was conferred on Turgot, whose name was as yet little known at Paris, and whose artlessness made him even less dangerous as a rival than Vergennes. "I am told he never goes to mass," said the king doubtingly, and yet consented to the appointment. In five weeks, Turgot so won upon his sovereign's good-will that he was transferred to the ministry of finance. This was the wish of all the philosophers: of D'Alembert, Condorcet, Bailly, La Harpe, Marmontel, Thomas, Condillac, Morellet, and Voltaire. Nor of them alone. "Turgot," said Malesherbes, "has the heart of L'Hôpital and the head of Bacon." His candor, moreover, gave him clear-sightedness and distinctness of purpose. At a moment when everybody confessed that reform was essential, it seemed a national benediction that 1774.
July. a youthful king should intrust the task of amendment to a statesman who preserved his purity of nature in a libertine age, and joined unquestioned probity to comprehensive intelligence and administrative experience. At his accession, the cry of joy broke from Voltaire: "A new world is about to blow."

The annual public expenses largely exceeded the revenue,

and extortions to meet the deficit fell on the humble and the weak. Yet the chief financial officers grew enormously rich, and were adepts in refined luxury, masking their revels by an affectation of philosophy. "We are

1774. well off," they would say; "of what use is reform?"
July.

The land-tax, the poll-tax, the best tithes of the produce for the priest, twentieths, military service, taxes on consumption, labor on the highways, crushed the peasantry. The indirect taxes were farmed out to commissioners, who had power to enforce extortionate demands by summarily sending the demurrers to the galleys or the scaffold.

The protective system superintended the use of capital. The right to labor was a privilege sold for the benefit of the finances, and labor itself was so bound in the meshes of innumerable rules that manufactures grew up timidly under the dangerous favor of arbitrary encouragement. The progress of agriculture was still hindered by the servitudes of the soil. Each little farm was held under a complicated system of irredeemable dues to roads and canals; to the bakehouse and the brewery of the lord of the manor; to his wine-press and his mill; to his tolls at the river, the market, or the fair; to ground-rents and quit-rents and fines on alienation. The game laws let in the wild beasts and birds to fatten on the poor man's fields; and, after his harvest, provincial custom houses blocked domestic commerce: the export of corn, and even its free circulation within the realm, was prohibited; so that one province might waste from famine, and another want a market for its superfluous production.

Out of this sad state Turgot undertook to lift his country. "It is to you personally," said he to Louis XVI., "to the man, honest, just, and good, rather than to the king, that I give myself up. You have confided to me the happiness of your people, and the care of making you and your authority beloved; but I shall have to combat those who gain by abuses, the prejudices against all reform, the majority of the court, and every solicitor of favors. I shall sacrifice myself for the people; but I may incur even their hatred by the very measures I shall take to prevent their distress."

"Have no fear," said the king, pressing the hand of his new comptroller-general; "I shall always support you."

The exigencies of his position made Turgot a partisan of the central unity of power; he was no friend to revolutions; he would have confined the parliaments of France to their simple office as judges; he had no predilection for states-general, or a system like that of England. To unobstructed power, enlightened by advice, he looked for good laws and a vigorous administration. He would have no bankruptcy, whether avowed or disguised; no increase of taxes, no new loans; and the king solemnly accepted his financial system.

The vices of the nobility had demoralized the army: from the navy there was also little promise; for that department was intrusted to Sartine, who had been 1774.
July. trained to public life as an officer of police. The warlike nation had never had so unwarlike an administration. Maurepas had been feeble, even from his youth; the king was neither a soldier nor capable of becoming one.

Yet in France the traditional policy, which regarded England as a natural enemy, and sought a benefit to the one country by wounding the other, was kept alive by the Bourbon princes; by the nobles, who longed to efface the shame of the last treaty of peace; by the farmers of the revenue, who were sure to derive rapid fortunes from the necessities of war; by the ministers, who brooded over the perfidious conduct of the British government in 1755 with a distrust that never slumbered. France, therefore, bent its ear to catch the earliest surging of American discontent. This it perceived in the instructions from the congress of Virginia to its delegates in the continental congress. "They are the first," observed the statesmen of France, "which proposed to restrain the act of navigation itself, and give pledges to resist force by force."

CHAPTER VIII.

HOW THE MANDAMUS COUNCILLORS WERE DEALT WITH.

AUGUST, 1774.

ON Saturday the sixth of August, Gage received an authentic copy of the act of parliament "for the better
1774. regulating the province of the Massachusetts Bay,"
Aug. introduced by Lord North in April, and, as we have seen, assented to by the king on the twentieth of May. Rockingham and his friends have left on the records of the house of lords their protest against the act; "because," said they, "a definitive legal offence, by which a forfeiture of the charter is incurred, has not been clearly stated and fully proved; neither has notice of this adverse proceeding been given to the parties affected; neither have they been heard in their own defence; and because the governor and council are intrusted with powers with which the British constitution has not trusted his majesty and privy council, so that the lives and properties of the subjects are put into their hands without control."

The principle of the statute was the concentration of the executive power, including the courts of justice, in the hands of the royal governor. Without previous notice to Massachusetts and without a hearing, it arbitrarily took away rights and liberties which the people had enjoyed from the foundation of the colony, except in the evil days of James II., and which had been renewed in the charter from William and Mary. That charter was coeval with the great English revolution, had been the organic law of the colonists for more than eighty years, and was associated in their minds with every idea of English liberty and every sentiment of loyalty to the English crown. Under its pro-

visions, the councillors, twenty-eight in number, had been annually chosen by a convention of the council for the former year and the assembly, subject only to the negative of the governor; henceforward they were to be not less than twelve nor more than thirty-six, were to derive their emoluments from the king, and were removable at his pleasure. The governor received authority, without consulting his council, to appoint and to remove all judges of the inferior courts, justices of the peace, and all officers belonging to the council and the courts of justice. The sheriffs were changeable by the governor and council as often as they should deem expedient. In case of a vacancy, the governor was himself to appoint the chief justice and judges of the superior court, who were to hold their commissions during the pleasure of the king, and depend on his good-will for the amount and the payment of their salaries. That nothing might be wanting to executive power, the right of selecting juries was taken from the inhabitants and freeholders of the towns, and conferred on the sheriffs of the several counties within the province. This regulating act, moreover, uprooted the dearest institution of New England, whose people, from the first settlement of the country, had been accustomed in their town-meetings to transact all business that touched them most nearly as fathers, as freemen, and as Christians. There they adopted local taxes to keep up their free schools; there they regulated the municipal concerns of the year; there they instructed the representatives of their choice; and, as the limits of the parish and the town were usually the same, there most of them took measures for the invitation and support of ministers of the gospel in their congregations; there, at whatever time they might be called together by their selectmen, they were accustomed to express their sentiments on all subjects connected with their various interests, their rights and liberties, and their religion. The regulating act, sweeping away the provincial law which had received the approval of William and Mary, permitted two meetings annually, in which town officers and representatives might be chosen, but no other matter be introduced;

1774.
Aug.

every other assembling of a town was forbidden, except by the written leave of the governor, and then only for business expressed in that leave. A wise ruler respects the feelings, usages, and opinions of the governed. The king trampled under foot the affections, customs, laws, and privileges of the people of Massachusetts. He was willing to spare them an explicit consent to the power of parliament in all cases whatever; but he required proof that Boston had compensated the East India company, that the tax on tea could be safely collected, and that the province would peacefully acquiesce in the change of its charter.

With the regulating act, Gage received copies of two other acts, designed to facilitate its enforcement. He was surrounded by an army; had been enjoined repeatedly to arrest the leading patriots, even at the risk of producing a riot; and had been instructed that even in time of peace he could of himself order the troops to fire upon the people.

By one of the two additional acts, he was authorized to quarter his army in towns; by the other, to transfer to another colony or to Great Britain any persons informed against or indicted for crimes committed in supporting the revenue laws or suppressing riots.

The regulating act complicated the question between America and Great Britain. The country, under the advice of Pennsylvania, might have indemnified the East India company, might have obtained by importunity the repeal of the tax on tea, or might have borne the duty as it had borne that on wine; but parliament, after ten years of premeditation, had exercised the power to abrogate the laws, and to change the charter of a province without its consent; and on this arose the conflict of the American revolution. The act went into effect on the moment of its being received, and precipitated the choice between submission and resistance. Within a week, eleven of the mandamus councillors took the oath of office, and were followed in a few days by fourteen more. They were persuaded that the province could by no possibility hold out; the promise of assistance from other colonies was scoffed at as a delusion, intended only to keep up the spirit of the mob. No assem-

1774.
Aug.

bly existed in the province to remonstrate ; and Gage might delay or wholly omit to send out writs for a new election. But a people who were trained to read and write ; to discuss all political questions, privately and in public ; to strive to exhibit in their lives the Christian system of ethics, the beauty of holiness, and the unselfish nature of virtue ; to reason on the great ends of God in creation ; to believe in their own immortality ; and to venerate their ancestry as above all others pure, enlightened, and free, could never forego the civil rights which were their most cherished inheritance.

The committee of Boston, exasperated by a military camp in the heart of their town, acknowledged themselves unable to deliberate as the perils and exigencies of the times might demand. “Being stationed by Providence in the front rank of the conflict,” such was their letter to all the other towns in the province, “we trust we shall not be left by Heaven to do any thing derogatory to our common liberties, unworthy of the fame of our ancestors, or inconsistent with our former professions. Though surrounded with a large body of armed men, who, having the sword, have also our blood in their hands, we are yet undaunted. To you, our brethren and dear companions in the cause of God, we apply. From you we have received that countenance and aid which have strengthened our hands, and that bounty, which hath occasioned smiles on the face of distress. To you, therefore, we look for that advice and example which, with the blessing of God, shall save us from destruction.”

1774.
Aug.

The earnest message was borne to the northern border of the province, where the brooks run to the Nashua, and the upland farms yielded but scanty returns to the hardest toil. The husbandmen in that region had already sent many loads of rye to the poor of Boston. In the coming storm, they clustered round William Prescott, of Pepperell, who stood as firm as Monadnock, that rose in sight of his homestead ; and, on the day after the first mandamus councillors took their oath of office, they put their soul into his words as he wrote for them to the men of Boston : “Be not dis-

mayed nor disheartened in this day of great trials. We heartily sympathize with you, and are always ready to do all in our power for your support, comfort, and relief; knowing that Providence has placed you where you must stand the first shock. We consider we are all embarked in one bottom, and must sink or swim together. We think, if we submit to these regulations, all is gone. Our forefathers passed the vast Atlantic, spent their blood and treasure that they might enjoy their liberties, both civil and religious, and transmit them to their posterity. Their children have waded through seas of difficulty, to leave us free and happy in the enjoyment of English privileges. Now, if we should give them up, can our children rise up and call us blessed? Is a glorious death in defence of our liberties better than a short infamous life, and our memories to be had in detestation to the latest posterity? Let us all be of one heart, and stand fast in the liberties wherewith Christ has made us free; and may he of his infinite mercy grant us deliverance out of all our troubles." Prescott and his companions never forgot their pledge.

Everywhere the rural population of Massachusetts were anxiously weighing the issues in which they were involved. One spirit moved through them all. From the hills of Berkshire to the Penobscot, they debated the great question of resistance as though God were hearkening; and they took counsel reverently with their ministers, and the aged, the pious, and the brave in their villages. Adjoining towns held conferences. The shire of Worcester in

1774.
Aug.

August set the example of a county congress, which disclaimed the jurisdiction of the British house of commons, asserted the exclusive right of the colonies to originate laws respecting themselves, rested their duty of allegiance on the charter of the province, and declared the violation of that charter a dissolution of their union with Britain.

Thomas Gardner, a Cambridge farmer, promised a similar convention of the county of Middlesex. "Friends and brethren," he wrote to Boston, as if at once to allay anxiety and prophesy his own approaching end, "the time is come

that every one that has a tongue and an arm is called upon by their country to stand forth in its behalf. I consider the call as the call of God, and desire to be all obedience. The people will choose rather to fall gloriously in the cause of their country than meanly submit to slavery." The passion for liberty was felt to be so hallowed that, in a land remarkable for piety, a father of a family in his last hour would call his sons about his death-bed and charge them on his blessing to love freedom more than life.

In June, there had been a review of the Boston regiment. The patriots speculated on the total number of the militia. After searching the rolls of the several towns, the population of the province was estimated at four hundred thousand souls; and the number of men between sixteen and sixty years of age, at about one hundred and twenty thousand, most of whom possessed arms, and were expert in their use. There could be no general muster; but, during the summer, the drum and fife were heard in every hamlet, and the several companies paraded for discipline. One day in August, Gage revoked Hancock's commission in the Boston cadets; and that company resented the insult by returning the king's standard and disbanding.

1774.
Aug.

Putnam, of Connecticut, famous for service near Lake George and Ticonderoga, before the walls of Havana, and far up the lakes against Pontiac, a pioneer of emigration to the southern banks of the Mississippi, the oracle of all patriot circles in his neighborhood, drove before him to Boston one hundred and thirty sheep, as a gift from the parish of Brooklyn. The "old hero" became Warren's guest, and every one's favorite. The officers whom he visited on Boston common bantered him about coming down to fight. "Twenty ships of the line and twenty regiments," said Major Small, "may be expected from England in case a submission is not speedily made by Boston." "If they come," said the veteran, "I am ready to treat them as enemies."

The growing excitement attracted to New England Charles Lee, the restless officer whom the Five Nations had named the Boiling Water. As aide-de-camp to the

king of Poland, he assumed the rank of a major-general, which on occasion of his visit was universally acknowledged; so that, of all who were likely to draw the sword for America, he had the precedence in military rank. He professed to see in the New England yeomanry the best materials for an army; and paid court to the patriots of Massachusetts, whom he left confident of his aid in the impending struggle.

1774.
Aug. Meantime, the delegates of Massachusetts to the general congress were escorted by great numbers as far as Watertown, where many had gathered to bid them a solemn and affectionate farewell. On the Connecticut River, they received a letter of advice from the great patriot of Northampton. "We must fight," wrote Hawley, "we must fight, if we cannot otherwise rid ourselves of British taxation. The form of government enacted for us by the British parliament is evil against right, utterly intolerable to every man who has any idea or feeling of right or liberty. There is not heat enough yet for battle; constant and negative resistance will increase it. There is not military skill enough; that is improving, and must be encouraged. Fight we must finally, unless Britain retreats. But it is of infinite consequence that victory be the end of hostilities. If we get to fighting before necessary dispositions are made for it, we shall be conquered, and all will be lost for ever. A clear plan for an adequate supply of arms and military stores must be devised. This is the main thing. Men, in that case, will not be wanting. Our salvation depends upon a persevering union. Every grievance of any one colony must be held as a grievance to the whole, and some plan be settled for a continuation of congresses, even though congresses will soon be declared by parliament to be high treason."

Hawley spoke the sentiments of Western Massachusetts. When, on Tuesday the sixteenth of August, the judges of the inferior court of Hampshire met at Great Barrington, it was known that the regulating act had received the royal approval. Before noon, the town was filled with people of the county, and five hundred men from Connecticut, armed

with clubs and staves. Suffering the courts of justice to sit seemed a recognition of the act of parliament, and the chief judge was forced to plight his honor that he and his associates would do no business. On the rumor that Gage meditated employing a part of his army to execute the new statute at Worcester, the inhabitants of that town prepared arms, musket-balls, and powder, and threatened to fall upon any body of soldiers who should attack them.

The mandamus councillors began to give way. Williams of Hatfield refused to incur certain ruin by accepting his commission; so did Worthington of Springfield. Those who accepted dared not give advice.

Boston held a town-meeting. Gage reminded the selectmen of the act of parliament, restricting town-meetings without the governor's leave. "It is only an adjourned one," said the selectmen. "By such means," said Gage, "you may keep your meeting alive these ten years." He brought the subject before the new council. "It is a point of law," said they, "and should be referred to the crown lawyers." He asked their concurrence in removing a sheriff. "The act of parliament," they replied, "confines the power of removal to the governor alone." Several members gave an account of the frenzy which was sweeping from Berkshire over the province, and might reach them collectively even in the presence of the governor. "If you value your life, I advise you not to return home at present," was the warning received by Ruggles from the town of Hardwick, whose freemen with those of New Braintree and of Greenwich so resented his accepting a place in the council that they vowed he should never again pass the great bridge of the town alive.

By nine o'clock on the morning of the twenty-sixth, more than two thousand men marched in companies to the common in Worcester, where they forced Timothy Paine to walk through their ranks with his hat off as far as the centre of their hollow square, and read a written resignation of his seat at the council board. A large detachment then moved to Rutland to deal with Murray. The next day at noon, Wilder of Templeton, and Holden of Prince-

1774.
Aug.

ton, brought up their companies; and by three in the afternoon about fifteen hundred men had assembled, most of them armed with bludgeons. But Murray had escaped on the previous evening, just before the sentries were set round his house and along the roads; they therefore sent him a letter requiring him to resign. The temper of the people brooked no division; they held every person that would not join them an enemy to his country. "The consequences of your proceedings will be rebellion, confiscation and death," said the younger Murray; and his words were as oil to the flame. "No consequences," they replied to him, "are so dreadful to a free people as that of being made slaves." "This," wrote he to his brother, "is not the language of the common people only: those that have heretofore sustained the fairest character are the warmest in this matter; and, among the many friends you have heretofore had, I can scarcely mention any to you now."

1774.

Aug.

One evening in August, the farmers of Union in Connecticut found Abijah Willard, of Lancaster, Massachusetts, within their precinct. They kept watch over him during the night, and the next morning five hundred men would have taken him to the county jail; but, after a march of six miles, he begged forgiveness of all honest men for having taken the oath of office, and promised never to sit or act in council.

The people of Plymouth were grieved that George Watson, their respected townsman, was willing to act under his appointment. On the first Lord's Day after his purpose was known, as soon as he took his seat in meeting, dressed in the scarlet cloak which was his wonted Sunday attire, his neighbors and friends put on their hats before the congregation and walked out of the house. The extreme public indignity was more than he could bear. As they passed his pew, he hid his face by bending his bald head over his cane, and determined to resign. Of thirty-six who received the king's summons as councillors, more than twenty declined to obey them or revoked their acceptance. The rest fled in terror to the army at Boston, and even there could not hide their sense of shame.

CHAPTER IX.

MASSACHUSETTS DEFEATS THE REGULATING ACT.

AUGUST, 1774.

THE congressional delegates from Massachusetts, consecrated by their office as her suppliant ambassadors in the day of her distress, were welcomed everywhere on their journey with hospitable feasts and tears of sympathy. No governor on the day of his instalment was ever attended with more assiduous solicitude; no general returning in triumph, with sincerer love. The men of Hartford, after giving pledges to abide by the resolutions of the congress, accompanied them to Middletown, from which place they were escorted by carriages and a cavalcade. The bells of New Haven were set ringing as they drew near, and those who had not gone out to meet them thronged the windows and doors to gaze. There they were encouraged by Roger Sherman, whom solid sense and the power of clear analysis were to constitute one of the master builders of our republic. "The parliament of Great Britain," said he, "can rightfully make laws for America in no case whatever." Simultaneously, James Wilson in Philadelphia, a Scot by birth, of rare ability, who had been bred in the universities of his native land, and had emigrated to America in his early manhood, and Jefferson in Virginia, without a chance of concert, published the same opinion: the former deducing it from "the rights of British America;" the latter proceeding from an able investigation of "the nature and extent of the legislative authority of the British parliament." The freeholders of Albemarle county, in Virginia, had a month earlier expressed the same conclusion; and, in

1774.
Aug.

the language of Jefferson, claimed to hold the privilege of exemption from the authority of every other legislature than their own as one of the common rights of mankind.

1774. After resting one night at New Haven, and visiting
Aug. the grave of the regicide Dixwell, the envoys continued on their way. As they reached the Hudson, they found that the British ministry had failed to allure, to intimidate, or to divide New York. A federative union of all the English colonies, under the sovereignty of the British king, had for a quarter of a century formed the aspiration of its ablest men, who long remained confident of the ultimate consummation of their hopes. The great design had been repeatedly promoted by the legislature of the province. The people wished neither to surrender liberty, nor to dissolve their connection with the crown of England. The possibility of framing an independent republic with one jurisdiction from the far north to the Gulf of Mexico, from the Atlantic indefinitely to the west, was a vision of which nothing in the history of man could promise the realization. Lord Kames, the friend of Franklin, though he was persuaded that the separation of the British colonies was inevitably approaching, affirmed that their political union was impossible. Prudent men long regarded the establishment of a confederacy of widely extended territories as a doubtful experiment, except under the moderating influence of a permanent executive. That the colonies, if disconnected from England, would fall into bloody dissensions among themselves, had been the anxious fear of Otis of Massachusetts, and was now the apprehension of Philip Livingston of New York. Union, with the security of all constitutional rights, under the auspices of the British king, was still the purpose of Jay and his intimate associates. This policy had brought all classes together, and loyal men who, like William Smith, were its advocates, passed for "consistent, unshaken friends to their country and her liberties." The community did not as yet know with what sullen passion the idea had been trampled under foot by the British ministry, nor how it was hated by the British king; and prudence suppressed every allusion to an "appeal" to

arms. But the appeal was nearer at hand than the most sagacious believed.

The last Tuesday in August was the day for holding the supreme court in Boston; Oliver, the impeached chief justice, was to preside, and in the conduct of business to conform for the first time to the new act of parliament. The day was to decide whether Massachusetts would submit to the regulating act; and Gage, who thought it might be necessary for a part of his army to escort the judges in their circuit as far as Worcester, anticipated no opposition to organizing the court in the heart of the garrisoned town. But neither he nor his employers had computed the power of resistance in a community where the great mass is inflamed with love for a sacred cause.

Before Samuel Adams departed, he had concerted the measures by which Suffolk county would be best able to bring the wrongs of the town and the province before the general congress; and he left the direction with Warren, who had reluctantly become convinced that all connection with the British parliament must be thrown off. On the sixteenth of August, a county congress of the towns of Suffolk, which then embraced Norfolk, met at a tavern in the village of Stoughton. As the aged Samuel Dunbar, the rigid Calvinist minister of its first parish, breathed forth among them his prayer for liberty, the venerable man seemed inspired with "the most divine and prophetic enthusiasm." "We must stand undisguised upon one side or the other," said Thayer, of Braintree. The members were unanimous and firm; but they postponed their decision till it could be promulgated with greater formality. To this end, and in contempt of Gage and the act of parliament, they directed special meetings in every town and precinct in the county, to elect delegates with full powers to appear at Dedham on the first Monday in September. From such a county congress, Warren predicted "very important consequences."

Meantime, Boston was not left to deliberate alone. On Friday the twenty-sixth, its committee was joined at Faneuil Hall by delegates from the several towns of the counties

of Worcester, Middlesex, and Essex; and on the next day, after calm consultation, they collectively denied the power of parliament to change the minutest tittle of their laws. As a consequence, they found that all appointments to the newly instituted council, and all authority exercised by the courts of justice, were unconstitutional; and therefore that the officers, should they attempt to act, would become "usurpers of power" and enemies to the province, even though they bore the commission of the king. The Boston port act they found to be a wicked violation of the rights to life, liberty, and the means of sustenance, which all men hold by the grace of Heaven, irrespectively of the king's leave. The act of parliament removing from American courts the trials of officers who should take the lives of Americans, they described as the extreme measure in the system of despotism.

For remedies, the convention proposed a provincial congress with large executive powers. In the mean time, the unconstitutional courts were to be forbidden to proceed, and their officers to be detested as "traitors cloaked with a pretext of law." As Gage had orders to make arrests, each individual patriot was placed under the protection of his county and of the province. The practice of the military art was declared to be the duty of the people.

1774. Gage looked about him for more troops, recom-
Aug. mended the repair of Crown Point, a strong garrison at Ticonderoga, a well-guarded line of communication between New York and Canada, and he came from Salem to support the chief justice in opening the court at Boston.

On the same day began the term of the inferior court at Springfield. But, early in the morning, fifteen hundred or two thousand men, with drums and trumpets, marched into that town, set up a black flag at the court house, and threatened death to any one who should enter. After some treaty, the judges executed a written covenant not to put their commissions in force; Worthington resigned his office of councillor; those of the lawyers who had sent an address to Gage atoned for their offence by a written confession. Williams, the tory of Hatfield, and others, were compelled

successively to go round a large circle, and ask forgiveness. Catlin and Warner fell upon their knees; old Captain Mirreck, of Monson, was drawn in a cart and threatened to be tarred and feathered. The people agreed that the troops, if Gage should march them to Worcester, should be resisted by at least twenty thousand men from Hampshire county and Connecticut.

1774.
Aug.

At Boston, the judges took their seats, and the usual proclamations were made; when the men who had been returned as jurors, one and all, refused to take the oath. Being asked why they refused, Thomas Chase, who was of the petit jury, gave as his reason "that the chief justice of the court stood impeached by the late representatives of the province." In a paper offered by the jury, the judges found their authority disputed for the further reasons that the charter of the province had been changed with no warrant but an act of parliament, and that three of the judges, in violation of the constitution, had accepted seats in the new council.

The chief justice and his colleagues, repairing in a body to the governor, represented the impossibility of exercising their office in Boston or in any other part of the province; the army was too small for their protection; and, besides, none would act as jurors. Thus the authority of the new government, as established by act of parliament, perished in the presence of the governor, the judges, and the army.

Gage summoned his council, but only to meet new discomfitures. Its members dared not show themselves at Salem, and he consented to their violating the act of parliament by meeting in Boston. Hutchinson, the son of the former governor, withdrew from the council. The few who retained their places advised unanimously to send no troops into the interior, but so to re-enforce the army as to constitute Boston a "place of safe retreat."

Far different was the spirit displayed on that day at Concord by the county convention, in which every town and district of Middlesex was represented. "We must now exert ourselves," said they, "or all those efforts which for ten years past have brightened the annals of this country

will be totally frustrated. Life and death, or, what is more, freedom and slavery, are now before us." In behalf, therefore, of themselves and of future generations, they enumerated the violations of their rights by late acts of parliament, which they avowed their purpose to nullify; and they sent their resolves by an express to the continental congress. "We are grieved," said they, "to find ourselves reduced to the necessity of entering into the discussion of those great and profound questions; but we deprecate a state of slavery. Our fathers left us a fair inheritance, purchased by blood and treasure; this we are resolved to transmit equally fair to our children; no danger shall affright, no difficulties intimidate us; and if, in support of our rights, we are called to encounter even death, we are yet undaunted; sensible that he can never die too soon who lays down his life in support of the laws and liberties of his country."

The convention separated in the evening of the last day of August, to await the decisions of the continental congress; but before the next sun was up the aspect of affairs was changed.

CHAPTER X.

THE SUFFOLK COUNTY CONVENTION.

SEPTEMBER, 1774.

THE province kept its powder for its militia at Quarry Hill on a point of land between Medford and Cambridge, then within the limits of Charlestown. In August, the towns had been removing their stock, each according to its proportion. On Thursday morning, the first day of September, at half past four, about two hundred and sixty men, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Madison, embarked on board thirteen boats at Long Wharf, rowed up Mystic River, landed at Temple's farm, took from the public magazine all the powder that was there, amounting to two hundred and fifty half-barrels, and transferred it to the castle. A detachment from the corps brought off two field-pieces from Cambridge.

1774.
Sept.

This forcible seizure, secretly planned and suddenly executed, set the country in a flame. Before evening, large bodies of the men of Middlesex began to collect; and, on Friday morning, thousands of frecholders, leaving their guns in the rear, advanced to Cambridge, armed only with sticks, and led by captains of the towns, representatives, and committee men. Warren, hearing that the roads from Sudbury to Cambridge were lined by men in arms, took with him as many of the Boston committee as came in his way, crossed to Charlestown, and with the committee of that town hastened to meet the committee of Cambridge. On their arrival, they found Danforth, a county judge and mandamus councillor, addressing four thousand people who stood in the open air round the court-house steps; and such order prevailed that the low voice of the feeble old man

was heard by the whole multitude. He finished by giving a written promise never "to be any way concerned as a member of the council." Lee, in like manner, confirmed his former resignation. The turn of Phipps, ^{1774.} ^{Sept.} the high sheriff, came next, and he signed an agreement not to execute any precept under the new act of parliament.

Oliver, the lieutenant-governor, who resided at Cambridge, repaired to Boston in the "greatest distress." "It is not a mad mob," said he to the British admiral; and he warned Gage that "sending out troops would be attended with the most fatal consequences." Had they marched only five miles into the country, Warren was of opinion that not a man of them would have been saved. Gage remained inactive; writing, as his justification to the ministry: "The people are numerous, waked up to a fury, and not a Boston rabble, but the freeholders and farmers of the county. A check would be fatal, and the first stroke will decide a great deal. We should therefore be strong, and proceed on a good foundation, before any thing decisive is urged, which it is to be presumed will prove successful."

Oliver returned to Cambridge with the assurance that no troops would appear, and to beg the committee's leave to retain his places. But in the afternoon three or four thousand men surrounded his house, and demanded his resignation. "My honor is my first consideration," said Oliver; "the next my life. Put me to death or destroy my property, but I will not submit." Yet, on the first appearance of danger, he yielded to all their demands; then, walking into his own court-yard, he reassumed the air of a hero, and comforted himself by repeating: "I will do no more, even though they put me to death."

For three hours, beneath the scorching sun of the hottest day of that summer, the people kept the ranks in which they were marshalled, and their "patience, temperance, and fortitude" were remarked upon as the chief elements "of a good soldier." They allowed the force of the suggestion that the governor, in removing the stores of the province, had broken no law; and they voted unanimously their abhor-

rence of mobs and riots, and of the destruction of private property.

Their conduct showed how capable they were of regular movements, and how formidable they might prove in the field; but rumors reached England of their cowardice and defeat. "What a dismal piece of news!" said Charles Fox to Edmund Burke; "and what a melancholy consideration for all thinking men, that no people, animated by what principle soever, can make a successful resistance to military discipline. I was never so affected with any public event, either in history or in life. The introduction of great standing armies into Europe has made all mankind irrecoverably slaves. The particular business I think very far from being decided; but I am dejected at heart from the sad figure that men make against soldiers." Fox was misinformed. In the British camp in Boston, an 1774.
Sept. apprehension prevailed of an invasion from armed multitudes. The guards were doubled; cannon were placed at the entrance of the town, and the troops lay on their arms through the night.

Gage wrote home that, "to reduce New England, a very respectable force should take the field." He already had five regiments at Boston, one more at the castle, and another at Salem; two more he summoned hastily from Quebec; he sent transports to bring another from New York; he still required re-enforcements from England; and resolving also to raise "irregulars, of one sort or other, in America," he asked of Carleton, who was just then expected to arrive from England at Quebec, "what measures would be most efficacious to raise a body of Canadians and Indians to form a junction with the king's forces." The threat to employ the savages against the colonists had been thrown out at the time of Tryon's march against the regulators of North Carolina, and may be traced still further back, at least to the discussions in the time of Shirley on remedies for the weakness of British power. This is the moment when it was adopted in practice. The commission to Carleton, as governor of the province of Quebec under the act of parliament, conveyed authority to arm and employ not the

Canadians only, but "all persons whatsoever," including the Indian tribes from the coast of Labrador to the Ohio; and to march them against rebels "into any one of the plantations in America."

1774.
Sept. It was pretended that there were English precedents for the practice; but it was not so. During the French war, England had formed connections with the Indian tribes, through whose territory lay the march of the hostile armies; and warriors of the Six Nations were enrolled and paid rather to secure neutrality than service. But this system had never been extended beyond the bounds of obvious prudence as a measure of self-defence. No war-party of savages was ever hounded at Canadian villages. The French, on the other hand, from their superior skill in gaining the love of the red men, and their own inferiority in numbers, had in former wars increased their strength by Indian alliances. The alliances the British king and his ministers now revived; and, against their own colonies and kindred, loosed from the leash these terrible auxiliaries.

The ruthless policy was hateful to every right-minded Englishman, and, as soon as it roused attention, the protest of the nation was uttered by Chatham and Burke, its great representatives; meantime, the execution of the sanguinary scheme fell naturally into the hands of the most unscrupulous and subservient English officers, and the most covetous and cruel of the old French partisans. Carleton, from the first, abhorred the measure, which he was yet constrained to promote. "You know," wrote he of the Indians to Gage, "what sort of people they are." It was true: Gage had himself, in the west and in Canada, grown thoroughly familiar with their method of warfare; and his predecessor in the chief command in America had recorded their falseness and cruelty in the most impassioned language of reprobation. But yet, without much compunction, he gave directions to propitiate and inflame the Indians by gifts, and to subsidize their war-parties. Before he left America, his commands to employ them pervaded the wilderness to the utmost bounds of his military authority, even to the south and south-west; so that the councils of the Cherokees and Choc-

taws and Mohawks were named as currently in the correspondence of the secretary of state as the German courts of Hesse and Hanau and Anspach.

In the hope to subdue by terror, the intention of employing Indians was ostentatiously proclaimed. Simultaneously with the application of Gage to the province of Quebec, the president of Columbia College, an Englishman by birth and education, published to the world that, in case submission to parliament should be withheld, civil war would follow, and the Indians would be let loose upon the back settlements to scalp the inhabitants along the border. In this kind of warfare, there could be no parity between the English and the Americans. The cannibal Indian was a dangerous incumbrance in the camp of a regular army, and not formidable in the array of battle; he was a deadly foe only as he skulked in ambush; or prowled on the frontier; or burned the defenceless farm-house; or struck the laborer in the field; or smote the mother at her household task; or crashed the infant's head against a rock or a tree; or tortured the prisoner on whose flesh he was to gorge. The women and children of England had an ocean between them and the Indian's tomahawk, and had no share in the terror that went before his path, or the sorrows that he left behind.

While Gage was writing for troops from England, 1774.
New York, and Quebec, for French Canadian regi- Sept.
ments, and for war-parties of Indians, the militia of Worcester county, hearing of the removal of the powder belonging to the province, rose in a mass and began the march to Boston. On Friday afternoon and Saturday morning, the volunteers from Hampshire county advanced eastward as far as Shrewsbury. At least twenty thousand were in motion. The rumor of the seizure reached Israel Putnam, in Connecticut, with the addition that the British troops and men-of-war had fired on the people and killed six men at the first shot. Despatching the report to Norwich, New London, New Haven, New York, and so to Philadelphia, he summoned the neighboring militia to take up arms. Thousands started at his call; but these, like the volunteers of Massachusetts,

were stopped by expresses from the patriots of Boston, who sent word that at present nothing was to be attempted. In return, assurances were given of most effectual support, whenever it might be required. "Words cannot express," wrote Putnam and his committee in behalf of five hundred men under arms at Pomfret, "the gladness discovered by every one at the appearance of a door being opened to avenge the many abuses and insults which those foes to liberty have offered to our brethren in your town and province. But for counter intelligence, we should have had forty thousand men, well equipped and ready to march this morning. Send a written express to the foreman of this committee, when you have occasion for our martial assistance; we shall attend your summons, and shall glory in having a share in the honor of ridding our country of the yoke of tyranny, which our forefathers have not borne, neither will we; and we much desire you to keep a strict guard over the remainder of your powder, for that must be the great means, under God, of the salvation of our country."

1774.
Sept.

"How soon we may need your most effectual aid," answered the Boston committee, "we cannot determine; but, agreeably to your wise proposal, we shall give you authentic intelligence on such contingency. The hour of vengeance comes lowering on; repress your ardor, but let us adjure you not to smother it."

This rising was followed by many advantages. Every man was led to supply deficiencies in his equipments; the people gained confidence in one another; and a method was concerted for calling them into service. Outside of Boston, the king's rule was at an end; no man dared to invoke his protection. The wealthy royalists, who entertained no doubt that all resistance would soon be crushed, were silent from fear, or fled to Boston as their "only asylum." Even there they did not feel safe.

By the fifth of September, Gage had ordered ground to be broken for fortifications on the Neck, which formed the only entrance by land into Boston. In the evening, the selectmen remonstrated, but with no effect. The next day

the convention of Suffolk county, which it had been agreed between Samuel Adams and Warren should send a memorial to the general congress, met in Dedham. 1774.
Sept. Every town and district was represented; and their grand business was referred to a committee, of which Warren was the chairman.

While their report was preparing, the day came for holding the county assize at Worcester. On that morning, the main street of the town was occupied on each side by about five thousand men, arranged under their leaders in companies, six deep, and extending for a quarter of a mile. Through this great multitude, the judges and their assistants passed safely to the court house; but there they were compelled to stay proceedings, and promise not to take part in executing the unconstitutional act of parliament.

An approval of the resistance of the people was embodied in the careful and elaborate report which Warren on the ninth presented to the adjourned Suffolk convention. "On the wisdom and on the exertions of this important day," such were its words, "is suspended the fate of the new world and of unborn millions." The resolutions which followed declared that the sovereign who breaks his compact with his people forfeits their allegiance. By their duty to God, their country, themselves, and posterity, they pledged the county to maintain their civil and religious liberties, and to transmit them entire to future generations. They rejected as unconstitutional the regulating act of parliament and all the officers appointed under its authority. They enjoined the mandamus councillors to resign their places within eleven days. Attributing to the British commander in chief hostile intentions, they directed the collectors of taxes to pay over no money to the treasurer whom he recognised. The governor and council had formerly appointed all military officers; now that the legal council was no longer consulted, they advised the towns to elect for themselves officers of their militia from such as were inflexible friends to the rights of the people. For purposes of provincial government they advised a provincial congress, while they promised respect and submission

to the continental congress. In reference to the present hostile appearances on the part of Great Britain, they expressed their determination "to act upon the defensive so long as such conduct might be vindicated by reason and the principles of self-preservation, but no longer." Should Gage arrest any one for political reasons, they promised to seize every crown officer in the province as hostages; and, as it might become necessary suddenly to summon assistance from the country, they arranged a system of couriers who were to bear written messages to the selectmen or corresponding committees of the several towns. The resolutions which thus concerted an armed resistance they unanimously adopted, and forwarded by express to the continental congress for its consideration and advice. "In a cause so solemn," they said, "our conduct shall be such as to merit the approbation of the wise and the admiration of the brave and free of every age and of every country."

The good judgment and daring of Warren singled him out above all others then in the province as the leader of "rebellion." The intrenchments on the Neck placed
1774.
Sept. all within the lines at the mercy of the army; yet, fearless of heart, he hastened into the presence of Gage, to protest in the name of Suffolk county against the new fortifications that closed the town.

At the height of their distress for want of employment, the carpenters of Boston refused to construct barracks for the army. Its inhabitants, who were all invited to share the hospitality of the interior, desired to abandon the town, and even to set it in flames, rather than "to be totally enslaved" by remaining at home; but, not knowing how to decide, they looked to congress for advice. Meantime, the colony desired to guard against anarchy, by instituting a government of their own, for which they found historical precedents. In the days of William the Deliverer and Mary, Connecticut and Rhode Island had each resumed the charter of government which James II. had superseded; the people of Massachusetts now wished to revive their old charter, and continue allegiance to George III. on no other terms than those which their ancestors had stipulated with

Charles I.; "otherwise," said they, "the laws of God, of nature, and of nations oblige us to cast about for safety." "If the four New England governments alone adopt the measure," said Hawley, of Hampshire, "I will venture my life to carry it against the whole force of Great Britain." In the congress of Worcester county, a motion was made to reassume the old charter and elect a governor. Warren, careful lest the province should be thought to aim at greater advantages than the other colonies might be willing to contend for, sought first the consent of the continental congress; reminding its members that one colony of freemen would be a noble bulwark for all America.

1774.
Sept.

New England had already surmounted its greatest difficulties; its enemies now placed their hopes on the supposed timidity of the general congress.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CONTINENT SUPPORTS MASSACHUSETTS.

SEPTEMBER, 1774.

1774.
Sept. Among the members elected to the continental congress, Galloway, of Philadelphia, acted as a volunteer spy for the British government. To the delegates from other colonies, as they arrived, he insinuated that "commissioners with full power should repair to the British court, after the example of the Roman, Grecian, and Macedonian colonies on occasions of the like nature." His colleagues spurned the thought of sending envoys to dangle at the heels of a minister, and undergo the scorn of parliament. The South Carolinians greeted the delegates of Massachusetts as the heralds of freedom itself; and the Virginians equalled or surpassed their colleagues in resoluteness and spirit; but, while there was great diversity of opinions respecting the proper modes of resisting the aggressions of the mother country, all united in desiring "the union of Great Britain and the colonies on a constitutional foundation."

On Monday the fifth of September, the members of congress, meeting at Smith's tavern, moved in a body to select the place for their deliberations. Galloway, the speaker of Pennsylvania, would have had them use the state house, but the carpenters of Philadelphia offered their plain but spacious hall; and, from respect for the mechanics, it was accepted by a great majority. The names of the members were then called over; and Patrick Henry, Washington, Richard Henry Lee, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Jay, Gadsden, John Rutledge of South Carolina, the aged Hopkins of Rhode Island, and others, representing eleven colo-

nies, answered to the call. Peyton Randolph, late speaker of the assembly of Virginia, was nominated president by Lynch of Carolina, and was unanimously chosen. The body named itself "the congress," and its chairman "the president." Jay and Duane would have selected a secretary from among the members themselves; but, on the motion of Lynch, Charles Thomson was appointed. The measures that were to have divided America bound them closely together. Colonies differing in religious opinions and in commercial interests, in every thing dependent on climate and labor, in usages and manners swayed by reciprocal prejudices, and frequently quarrelling with each other respecting boundaries, found themselves united in one representative body.

1774.
Sept.

Then arose the question as to the method of voting. There were fifty-five members, each colony having sent as many as it pleased. Henry, a representative of the largest state, intimated that it would be unjust for a little colony to weigh as much in the councils of America as a great one. "A little colony," observed Sullivan, of New Hampshire, "has its all at stake as well as a great one." John Adams admitted that the vote by colonies was unequal, yet that an opposite course would lead to perplexing controversy; for there were no authentic records of the numbers of the people or the value of their trade.

The discussion led the members to exaggerate the population of their respective colonies; and the aggregate of the estimates was made to exceed three millions. Few of them possessed accurate materials; Virginia and the Carolinas had never enumerated the woodsmen among the mountains and beyond them. From returns which were but in part accessible to the congress, it appears that the number of white inhabitants in all the thirteen colonies was, in 1774, about two millions one hundred thousand; of blacks, about five hundred thousand; the total population, very nearly two millions six hundred thousand.

At the beginning of the next day's session, a long and deep silence prevailed. The voice of Virginia was waited for, and was heard through Patrick Henry.

Making a recital of the wrongs inflicted on the colonies by acts of parliament, he declared that all government was dissolved; that they were reduced to a state of nature; that an entire new government must be founded; that the congress then assembled was but the first in a never ending succession of congresses; that their present decision would form a precedent. Asserting the necessity of union and his own determination to submit to the opinion of the majority, he discussed the mischiefs of an unequal representation, the advantage of a system that should give each colony its just weight; and he breathed the "hope that future ages would quote their proceedings with applause." The democratical part of the constitution, he insisted, must be preserved in its purity. Without refusing some regard in the adjustment of representation to the opulence of a colony as marked by its exports and imports, he spoke for a representation of men. "Slaves," said he, "are to be thrown out of the question; if the freemen can be represented according to their numbers, I am satisfied." To the objection that such a representation would confer an undue preponderance on the more populous states, he replied: "British oppression has effaced the boundaries of the several colonies; the distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American." "A compound of numbers and property," said Lynch, of South Carolina, "should determine the weight of the colonies;" but he admitted that such a rule could not then be settled. In the same spirit spoke the elder Rutledge. "We have," said he, "no legal authority; and obedience to the measures we adopt will only follow their reasonableness, apparent utility, and necessity. We have no coercive authority. Our constituents are bound only in honor to observe our determinations." "I cannot see any way of voting but by colonies," said Gadsden. "Every colony," insisted Ward, of Rhode Island, "should have an equal vote. The counties of Virginia are unequal in point of wealth and numbers, yet each has a right to send two members to its legislature. We come, if necessary, to make a sacrifice of our all, and by such a sac-

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rifice the weakest will suffer as much as the greatest." Harrison, of Virginia, spoke strongly on the opposite side, and was "very apprehensive that, if such a disrespect should be put upon his countrymen, as that Virginia should have no greater weight than the smallest colony, they would never be seen at another convention." But for this menace of disunion he was at once rebuked by his colleagues. "Though a representation equal to the importance of each colony were ever so just," said Richard Henry Lee, "the delegates from the several colonies are unprepared with materials to settle that equality." Bland, of Virginia, saw no safety but in voting by colonies. "The question," he added, "is whether the rights and liberties of ¹⁷⁷⁴ America shall be contended for, or given up to arbitrary power." ^{Sept.} Pendleton acquiesced, yet wished the subject might be open for reconsideration, when proper materials should have been obtained.

This opinion prevailed, and it was resolved that, in taking questions, each colony should have one voice; but the journal adds as the reason, that "the congress was not then able to procure proper materials for ascertaining the importance of each colony."

During the debate, Jay dissented in part from Henry, saying: "I cannot yet think that all government is at an end, or that we came to frame an American constitution, instead of endeavoring to correct the faults in an old one. The measure of arbitrary power is not full, and it must run over before we undertake to frame a new constitution."

It was next voted that "the doors be kept shut during the time of business;" and the members bound themselves by their honor to keep the proceedings secret, until the majority should direct them to be made public. The treacherous Galloway pledged his honor with the rest.

To the proposal that congress the next day should be opened with prayer, Jay and Rutledge objected, on account of the great diversity of religious sentiments. "I am no bigot," said Samuel Adams, the Congregationalist: "I can hear a prayer from a man of piety and virtue, who is at the same time a friend to his country;" and, on his nomination,

Duché, an Episcopal clergyman, was chosen for the service. Before the adjournment, Putnam's express arrived with the report of a bloody attack on the people by the troops at Boston; of Connecticut as well as Massachusetts rising in arms. The next day muffled bells were tolled. At the opening of congress, Washington was present, standing in prayer, and Henry, and Randolph, and Lee, and Jay, and Rutledge, and Gadsden; and by their side Presbyterians and Congregationalists, the Livingstons, Sherman, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and others of New England, who believed that a rude soldiery were then infesting the dwellings and taking the lives of their friends. When the psalm for the day was read, Heaven itself seemed uttering its oracle. "Plead thou my cause, O Lord, with them that strive with me; and fight thou against them that fight against me. Lay hand upon the shield and buckler, and stand up to help me. Bring forth the spear, and stop the way against them that persecute me. Let them that imagine mischief for me be as dust before the wind. Who is like unto thee, who deliverest the poor from him that is too strong for him? Lord! how long wilt thou look on? Awake, and stand up to judge my quarrel; avenge thou my cause, my God and my Lord." After this, the minister unexpectedly burst into an extempore prayer for America, for the congress, for Massachusetts, and especially for Boston, with the earnestness of the best divines of New England.

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The congress that day appointed one committee on the rights of the colonies, and another on the British statutes affecting their manufactures and trade. They also received by a second express the same confused account of bloodshed near Boston. Proofs both of the sympathy and the resolution of the continent met the delegates of Massachusetts on every hand; and the cry of "war" was pronounced with firmness.

The next day brought more exact information, and the committee of congress on the rights of the colonies began their deliberations. The first inquiry related to the foundation of those rights. Lee, of Virginia, rested them on nature. "Our ancestors," he said, "found here no govern-

ment, and as a consequence had a right to make their own. Charters are an unsafe reliance, for the king's right to grant them has itself been denied. Besides, the right to life and the right to liberty are inalienable." Jay, of New York, likewise recurred to the laws of nature. He would not admit the pretension to dominion founded on discovery; and he enumerated among natural rights the right to emigrate, and the right of the emigrants to erect what government they pleased. John Rutledge, on the contrary, held that allegiance is inalienable; that the first emigrants had not had the right to elect their king; that American claims were derived from the British constitution rather than from the law of nature. But Sherman, of Connecticut, deduced allegiance from consent, without which the colonies were not bound by the act of settlement. Duane, like Rutledge, shrunk from the appeal to the law of nature, and founded government on property in land.

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Behind all these views lay the question of the power of parliament over the colonies. Dickinson, not yet a member of congress, was of opinion that no officer under the new establishment in Massachusetts ought to be acknowledged, and advocated "allowing to parliament the regulation of trade upon principles of necessity and the mutual interest of both countries." "A right of regulating trade," said Gadsden, true to the principle of 1765, "is a right of legislation, and a right of legislation in one case is a right in all."

Amidst such varying opinions and theories, the congress, increased by delegates from North Carolina, and intent upon securing absolute unanimity, was moving with great deliberation; and Galloway hoped "the two parties would remain on an equal balance." But in that body there was a man who knew how to bring the enthusiasm of the people into connection with its representatives. "Samuel Adams," wrote Galloway, "though by no means remarkable for brilliant abilities, is equal to most men in popular intrigue, and the management of a faction. He eats little, drinks little, sleeps little, and thinks much, and is most decisive and indefatigable in the pursuit of his objects. He was the man

who, by his superior application, managed at once the faction in congress at Philadelphia, and the factions in New England."

One express had brought from Massachusetts the proceedings of Middlesex; another having arrived, on
1774. Saturday, the seventeenth of September, the dele-
Sept. gates of Massachusetts laid before congress the address of the Suffolk county convention to Gage, on his seizure of the provincial stock of powder and his hostile occupation of the only approach to Boston by land; and the resolutions of the same convention, which declared that no obedience was due to the acts of parliament affecting their colony.

As the papers were read, expressions of esteem, love, and admiration, broke forth in generous and manly eloquence. In language which but faintly expressed their spirit, members from all the colonies declared their sympathy with their suffering countrymen in Massachusetts, most thoroughly approved the wisdom and fortitude with which opposition to ministerial measures had hitherto been conducted, and earnestly recommended perseverance according to the resolutions of the county of Suffolk. Knowing that a new parliament must soon be chosen, they expressed their trust "that the united efforts of North America would carry such conviction to the British nation of the unjust and ruinous policy of the present administration as quickly to introduce better men and wiser measures."

To this end, they ordered their own resolutions with the communications from Suffolk county to be printed. But their appeal to the electors of Britain was anticipated. The inflexible king, weighing in advance the possible influence of the American congress, overruled Lord North, and, on the last day of September suddenly dissolving parliament, brought on the new election before proposals for conciliation could be received.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS SEEKS TO AVERT INDEPENDENCE.

SEPTEMBER—OCTOBER, 1774.

GAGE, who came flushed with confidence in an easy victory, at the end of four months was care-worn and disheartened. With the forces under his command, he hoped for no more than to pass the winter unmolested. At one moment, a suspension of the penal acts was his favorite advice, which the king ridiculed as senseless; at the next, he demanded an army of twenty thousand men, to be composed of Canadian recruits, Indians, and hirelings from the continent of Europe; again, he would bring the Americans to terms by casting them off as fellow-subjects, and not suffering even a boat to go in or out of their harbors. All the while he was exerting himself to obtain payment for the tea as a prelude to reconciliation. His agents wrote to their friends in congress, urging concessions. Such was the advice of Church, in language affecting the highest patriotism; and an officer who had served with Washington sought to persuade his old companion in arms that New England was conspiring for independence. It was moreover insinuated that, if Massachusetts should once resume its old charter and elect its governor, all New England would unite with her, and become strong enough to absorb the lands of other governments; that New Hampshire would occupy both slopes of the Green Mountains; that Massachusetts would seize the western territory of New York; while Connecticut would appropriate Northern Pennsylvania, and compete with Virginia for the west.

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Out of Boston the power of Gage was at an end. In the county of Worcester, the male inhabitants, from the age of sixteen to seventy, formed themselves into companies and regiments, chose their own officers, and agreed that one third part of the enrolled should hold themselves ready to march "at a minute's warning." "In time of peace, prepare for war," was the cry of the country. The frugal New England people increased their frugality. "As for me," wrote the wife of a member of congress, "I will seek wool and flax, and work willingly with my hands." Yet the poorest man in his distress would not accept employment from the British army; and the twelve nearest towns agreed to withhold from the troops every supply beyond what humanity required. But all the province, even to Falmouth, and beyond it, shared the sorrows of Boston, and cheered its inhabitants in their sufferings. "This much injured town," said the wife of John Adams, "like the body of a departed friend, has only put off its present glory, to rise finally to a more happy state." Nor did its citizens despair. Its newly elected representatives were instructed never to acknowledge the regulating act; and, in case of a dissolution, to join the other members in forming a provincial congress.

The assembly was summoned for the fifth of October, at which time the councillors who had been legally commissioned in May intended to take their seats; their period of office was a year, and they were not remarkable during the term for which they were chosen. Against so clear a title, the mandamus councillors would not dare to claim their places without a larger escort than they could receive.

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Sept. Gage was in a dilemma. On the twenty-eighth of September, by an anomalous proclamation, he neither dissolved nor prorogued the assembly which he himself had called, but declined to meet it at Salem, and discharged the representatives elect from their duty of attendance.

Meantime, the continental committee on the rights of the colonies, having been increased by one member from each of the three provinces, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, extended their searches to the statutes affecting

industry and trade. But in a body whose members were collected from remote parts of the country, accustomed to no uniform rules, differing in their ideas and their forms of expression, distrust could be allayed only by the most patient discussions; and, for the sake of unanimity, tedious delay was inevitable.

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In the first place, it was silently agreed to rest the demands of America not on considerations of natural rights, but on a historical basis. In this manner, even the appearance of a revolution was avoided; and ideal freedom was claimed only as imbodyed in facts.

How far the retrospect for grievances should be carried, was the next inquiry. South Carolina would have included all laws restrictive of manufactures and navigation; in a word, all the statutes of which Great Britain had been so prodigal towards her infant colonies, for the purpose of confining their trade and crippling their domestic industry. But the Virginians, conforming to their instructions, narrowed the issue to the innovations during the reign of George III.; and, as Maryland and North Carolina would not separate from Virginia, the acts of navigation, though condemned by Lee as a capital violation of American rights, were not included in the list of grievances.

The Virginians had never meant to own the binding force of the acts of navigation: the proposal to recognise them came from Duane, of New York, and encountered the strongest opposition. Some wished to deny altogether the authority of parliament; others, its power of taxation; others, its power of internal taxation only. These discussions were drawn into great length, and seemed to promise no agreement; till, at last, John Adams was persuaded to shape a compromise in the spirit and very nearly in the words of Duane. His resolution ran thus: "From the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of the countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament as are, *bond fide*, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits

of its respective members ; excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent."

This article was contrary to the principles of Otis at the commencement of the contest ; to the repeated declarations of Samuel Adams ; to the example of the congress of 1765, which had put aside a similar proposition, when offered by Livingston, of New York. Not one of the committee was fully satisfied with it ; yet, as the ablest speaker from Massachusetts had given way, the concession was irrevocable. It stands as a monument that the congress harbored no desire but of reconciliation. "I would have given
1774. every thing I possessed for a restoration to the state
Sept. of things before the contest began," said John Adams, at a later day. His resolution accepted that badge of servitude, the British colonial system.

During these discussions, Galloway, of Pennsylvania, in secret concert with the governor of New Jersey and with Colden of New York, proposed for the government of the colonies a president-general, to be appointed by the king, and a grand council to be chosen once in three years by the several assemblies. The British parliament was to have the power of revising the acts of this body, which in its turn was to have a negative on British statutes relating to the colonies. "I am as much a friend to liberty as exists," blustered Galloway, as he presented his insidious proposition, "and no man shall go further in point of fortune or in point of blood than the man who now addresses you." His scheme held out a hope of a continental union, which was the long cherished policy of New York ; it was seconded by Duane, and advocated by Jay, but opposed by Lee of Virginia. Patrick Henry objected to intrusting the power of taxation to a council to be chosen not directly by the people, but indirectly by its representatives ; and he condemned the proposal in all its aspects. "The original constitution of the colonies," said he, "was founded on the broadest and most generous base. The regulation of our trade compensates all the protection we ever experienced. We shall liberate our constituents from a corrupt house of commons,

but throw them into the arms of an American legislature, that may be bribed by a nation which in the face of the world avows bribery as a part of her system of government. Before we are obliged to pay taxes as they do, let us be as free as they; let us have our trade open with all the world." "I think the plan almost perfect," said Edward Rutledge. But not one colony, unless it may have been New York, voted in its favor; and no more than a bare majority would consent that it should even lie on the table. Its mover boasted of this small courtesy as of a triumph, though at a later day the congress struck the proposal from its record.

With this defeat, Galloway lost his mischievous importance. At the provincial elections in Pennsylvania, on the first day of October, Dickinson, his old oppo-^{1774.}_{Oct. 1.} nent, was chosen almost unanimously a representative of the county. Mifflin, though opposed by some of the Quakers as too warm, was elected a Burgess of Philadelphia by eleven hundred votes out of thirteen hundred, with Charles Thomson as his colleague. The assembly, on the very day of its organization, added Dickinson to its delegation in congress; and he took his seat in season to draft the address of that body to the king.

During the debates on the proper basis of that address, letters from Boston announced that the governor continued seizing private military stores, suffering the soldiery "to treat both town and country as declared enemies," fortifying the place, and mounting cannon at its entrance, as though he would hold its inhabitants as hostages, in order to compel a compliance with the new laws. As he had eluded the meeting of the general court, they applied to congress for advice; if the congress should instruct them to quit the town, they would obey. The citizens, who, as a body, had been more affluent than those of any other place of equal numbers in the world, made a formal offer to abandon their homes, and throw themselves, with their wives and children, their aged and infirm, on the charity of the country people, or build huts in the woods, and never revisit their native walls until re-established in their rights and liberties. Gadsden blazed up at the thought, and he

proposed that Gage should be attacked and routed before re-enforcements could arrive; but the congress was resolved to exhaust every means of redress, before sanctioning an appeal to arms.

The spirit of the people was more impetuous; confident in their strength, they scorned the thought of obedience, except on conditions that should be satisfactory to themselves. About the middle of October, the brig

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"Peggy Stewart," from London, arrived at Annapolis, with two thousand three hundred and twenty pounds of tea, on which the owner of the vessel made haste to pay the duty. The people of Maryland resented this voluntary submission to the British claim, which their delegates to the general congress were engaged in contesting. The fidelity and honor of the province seemed in question. A committee, therefore, kept watch to prevent the landing of the tea; successive public meetings drew throngs even from distant counties; till the two importers and the ship-owner jointly expressed their contrition, and offered to expiate their offence by burning the "detestable article" which had been the cause of their misconduct. When it appeared that this offer did not satisfy the crowd, the owner of the brig, after a little consultation with Charles Carroll, proposed to devote that also to the flames. The offer was accepted. The penitent importers and owner went on board the vessel, with hats off and lighted torches in their hands, and, in the presence of a multitude of gazers, set fire to the packages of tea, all which, together with the "Peggy Stewart," her canvas, cordage, and every appurtenance, was consumed.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONGRESS WILL MAKE THE LAST APPEAL IF NECESSARY.

OCTOBER, 1774.

WASHINGTON ardently wished to end civil discord, and restore tranquillity upon constitutional grounds, but his indignation at the wrongs of Boston could be 1774.
Oct. appeased only by their redress; and his purpose to resist the execution of the regulating act was unalterable. "Permit me," said he, addressing a British officer, then serving under Gage, "with the freedom of a friend, to express my sorrow that fortune should place you in a service that must fix curses to the latest posterity upon the contrivers, and, if success (which by the by is impossible) accompanies it, execrations upon all those who have been instrumental in the execution. The Massachusetts people are every day receiving fresh proofs of a systematic assertion of an arbitrary power, deeply planned to overturn the laws and constitution of their country, and to violate the most essential and valuable rights of mankind. It is not the wish of that government, or any other upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence; but none of them will ever submit to the loss of those rights and privileges without which life, liberty, and property are rendered totally insecure. Is it to be wondered at that men attempt to avert the impending blow in its progress, or prepare for their defence if it cannot be averted? Give me leave to add as my opinion, that, if the ministry are determined to push matters to extremity, more blood will be spilled on this occasion than history has ever yet furnished instances of in the annals of North America."

Ross, a Pennsylvanian, moved in congress that Massachu-

setts should be left to her own discretion with respect to government, and the administration of justice as well as defence. The motion was seconded by Galloway, in the hope of insulating her. Had it been adopted, under the Pine Tree flag of her forefathers she would have revived her first charter, and elected her governor. But the desire of conciliation forbade a policy so revolutionary. The province was therefore suffered to continue in a state of anarchy; but on the eighth of October it was resolved, though not unanimously, "that this congress approve the opposition of the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay to the execution of the late acts of parliament; and, if the same shall be attempted to be carried into execution by force, all America ought to support them in their opposition." This is the vote which hardened George III. to listen to no terms. He was inexorably bent on compelling the obedience of Massachusetts to the new system of government, and establishing it in Connecticut and Rhode Island on the ruins of their charters. The congress, when it adopted this resolve, did not know the extent of the aggressions which the king designed. Galloway and Duane desired leave to enter their protests against the measure; and, as this was refused, they gave to each other privately certificates that they had opposed it as treasonable. But the decision was made
^{1774.}
^{Oct.} deliberately. Two days later, congress further "declared that every person who should accept or act under any commission or authority derived from the regulating act of parliament, changing the form of government and violating the charter of Massachusetts, ought to be held in detestation;" and, in their letter to Gage, they censured his conduct as tending "to involve a free people in the horrors of war."

In adopting a declaration of rights, the division which had shown itself in the committee was renewed. "Here," said Ward, of Rhode Island, "no acts of parliament can bind. Giving up this point is yielding all." Against him spoke John Adams and Duane. "A right," said Lynch, of Carolina, "to bind us in one case may imply a right to bind us in all; but we are bound in none." The resolution of

concession was arrested by the vote of five colonies against five, with Massachusetts and Rhode Island divided, but at last was carried by the influence of John Adams. Duane desired next to strike the Quebec act from the list of grievances; but of all the bad acts of parliament Richard Henry Lee pronounced it the worst. His opinion prevailed upon a vote which Duane's reluctant adhesion made unanimous. Thus eleven acts of parliament or parts of acts, including the Quebec act and the acts specially affecting Massachusetts, were declared to be such infringements and violations of the rights of the colonies that the repeal of them was essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between the colonies and Great Britain.

The congress had unanimously resolved, from the first day of the coming December, not to import any merchandise from Great Britain and Ireland. They could not agree upon an immediate non-exportation; if the redress of American grievances should be delayed beyond the tenth day of September of the following year, a resolution to export no merchandise to Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies after that date was carried, but against the voice of South Carolina. When the members proceeded to bind themselves to these measures by an association, three of the delegates of that colony refused their names. "The agreement to stop exports to Great Britain is unequal," reasoned Rutledge; "New England ships little or nothing there, but sends fish, its great staple, to Portugal or Spain; South Carolina annually ships rice to England to the value of a million and a half of dollars. New England would be affected but little by the prohibition; Carolina would be ruined;" and he and two of his colleagues withdrew from the congress. Gadsden, who never counted the cost of patriotism, remained in his place, and, trusting to the generosity of his constituents, declared himself ready to sign the association. All business was interrupted for several days; but, in the end, congress recalled the seceders by allowing the unconditional export of rice.

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The association further contained this memorable covenant, which was adopted without opposition, and inaugu-

rated the abolition of the slave-trade: "We will neither import nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next; after which time we will wholly discontinue the slave-trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it."

This first American congress brought forth another measure, which was without an example. It recognised the political being and authority of the people. While it refused to petition parliament, it addressed the people of the provinces from Nova Scotia to Florida, the people of Canada, the people of Great Britain, making the printing press its ambassador to the rising power.

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Oct. To the British people whom they described as having been "led to greatness by the hand of liberty," and as "heirs to the rights of men," they said, in the language of Jay: "Know, then, that we consider ourselves, and do insist that we are, and ought to be, as free as our fellow-subjects in Britain, and that no power on earth has a right to take our property from us without our consent." Entreating congress to return to the system of 1763, they continued: "Prior to this era, you were content with wealth produced by our commerce. You restrained our trade in every way that could conduce to your emolument. You exercised unbounded sovereignty over the sea." Still assenting to these restrictions, they pleaded earnestly for the enjoyment of equal freedom, and demonstrated that a victory over the rights of America would not only be barren of advantage to the English nation, but increase their public debt with its attendant pensioners and place-men, diminish their commerce, and lead to the overthrow of their liberties by violence and corruption. "To your justice," they said, "we appeal. You have been told that we are impatient of government and desirous of independency. These are calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness. But if you are determined that your ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind; if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of

law, the principles of the constitution, or the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause, we must then tell you that we will never submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any ministry or nation in the world."

A second congress was appointed for May, at which all the colonies of North America, including Nova Scotia and Canada, were invited to appear by their deputies. The ultimate decision of America was then embodied in a petition to the king, written by Dickinson, and imbued in every line with a desire for conciliation. In the list of grievances, congress enumerated the statutes, and those only, which had been enacted since the year 1763, for the very purpose of changing the constitution or the administration of the colonies. They justified their discontent by fact and right, by historic tradition, and by the ideas of reason. "So far from promoting innovations," said they truly, "we have only opposed them; and can be charged with no offence, unless it be one to receive injuries and be sensible of them." Acquiescing in the restrictions on their ships and industry, they professed a readiness on the part of the colonial legislatures to make suitable provision for the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and for defence, protection, and security in time of peace; in case of war, they pledged the colonies to "most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising forces." But the privilege of thus expressing their affectionate attachment they would "never resign to any body of men upon earth." "We ask," they continued, "but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor the grant of any new right. Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great Britain, we shall always support and maintain;" and they besought of the king, "as the loving father of his whole people, his interposition for their relief, and a gracious answer to their petition."

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From complacency towards Rockingham, they passed over the declaratory act in silence; and they expressed their assent to the power of regulating commerce. But the

best evidence of their sincerity is found in the measure which they recommended. Had independence been their object, they would have strained every nerve to increase their exports, and fill the country in return with the manufactures and munitions which they required. The suspension of trade was the most disinterested manner of expressing to the mother country how deeply they felt their wrongs, and how earnestly they desired a peaceful restoration of reciprocal confidence. While Britain would have only to seek another market for her surplus manufactures and India goods, the American merchant sacrificed nearly his whole business. The exchequer might perhaps suffer some diminution in the revenue from tobacco, but the planters of Maryland and Virginia gave up the entire exchangeable produce of their estates. The cessation of the export of provisions to the West Indies, of flax-seed to Ireland, injured the northern provinces very deeply; and yet it would touch only the British merchants who had debts to collect in the West Indies or Ireland, or the English owners of West Indian or Irish estates. Every refusal to import was made by the colonist at the cost of personal comfort; every omission to export was a waste of the resources of his family. Moreover, no means existed of enforcing the agreement; so that the truest patriots would suffer most. And yet the people so yearned for a bloodless restoration of the old relations with Britain that they cheerfully entered on the experiment, in the hope that the extreme self-denial of the country would at least distress British commerce enough to bring the government to reflection.

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But, since their efforts to avert civil war might fail, John Adams expressed his anxiety to see New England provided with "cash and gunpowder." Ward, of Rhode Island, regarded America as the rising power that was to light all the nations of the earth to freedom. "Were I to suffer as a rebel in the cause of American liberty, should I not be translated immediately to heaven as Enoch was of old?" wrote Hewes, of North Carolina. Samuel Adams urged his friends to study the art of war, and organize resistance.

“I would advise,” said he, “persisting in our struggle, though it were revealed from Heaven that nine hundred and ninety-nine were to perish, and only one of a thousand to survive and retain his liberty. One such freeman must possess more virtue and enjoy more happiness than a thousand slaves; and let him propagate his like, and transmit to them what he hath so nobly preserved.” “Delightful as peace is,” said Dickinson, “it will come more grateful by being unexpected.” Washington, while he promoted the measures of congress, dared not hope that they would prove effectual. When Patrick Henry read the prophetic words of Hawley, “After all, we must fight,” he raised his hand, and called God to witness as he cried out: “I am of that man’s mind.”

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CHAPTER XIV.

HOW BRITAIN BEGAN CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

OCTOBER, 1774.

THE congress of 1774 contained statesmen of the highest order of wisdom. For eloquence, Patrick Henry was unrivalled; next to him in debate stood the elder Rutledge, of South Carolina; "but, if you speak of solid information and sound judgment," said Patrick Henry, "Washington is unquestionably the greatest man of them all."

While the delegates of the twelve colonies were in session in Philadelphia, ninety of the members just elected to the Massachusetts assembly appeared on Wednesday the fifth of October at the court-house in Salem. After waiting two days for the governor, they passed judgment on his unconstitutional proclamation against their meeting; and, resolving themselves into a provincial congress, they adjourned to Concord. There, on Tuesday the eleventh, about two hundred and sixty members took their seats, and elected John Hancock their president. On the fourteenth, they sent a message to the governor, that for want of a general assembly they had convened in congress; and they remonstrated against his hostile preparations. A committee from Worcester county made similar representations. "It is in your power to prevent civil war, and to establish your character as a wise and humane man," said the chairman. "For God's sake," replied Gage, in great trepidation, "what would you have me do?" for he vacillated between a hope that the king would give way, and a willingness to be the instrument of his obstinacy. To the president of the continental congress, he expressed the

wish that the disputes between the mother country and the colonies might terminate like lovers' quarrels; but he did not conceal his belief that its proceedings would heighten the anger of the king.

To the provincial congress, which had again adjourned from Concord to Cambridge, Gage made answer by recriminations. They on their part were surrounded by difficulties. They wished to remove the people of Boston into the country, but found it impracticable. A committee, appointed on the twenty-fourth of October, to <sup>1774.
Oct.</sup> consider the proper time to provide a stock of powder, ordnance, and ordnance stores, reported on the same day that the proper time was now. Upon the debate for raising money to prepare for the crisis, one member proposed to appropriate a thousand pounds, another two thousand; a committee reported a sum of less than ninety thousand dollars, as a preparation against a warlike empire, flushed with victory, and able to spend twenty million pounds sterling a year in the conduct of a war. They elected three general officers by ballot. A committee of safety, Hancock and Warren being of the number, was invested with power to alarm and muster the militia of the province, of whom one fourth were to hold themselves ready to march at a minute's notice.

In Connecticut, which, from its compactness, numbers, and wealth, was second only to Massachusetts in military resources, the legislature of 1774 provided for effectively organizing the militia, prohibited the importation of slaves, and ordered the several towns to provide double the usual quantity of powder, balls, and flints. They also directed the issue of fifteen thousand pounds in bills of credit of the colony, and made a small increase of the taxes. This was the first issue of paper money in the colonies preparatory to war.

The congress of Massachusetts, in like manner, directed the people of the province to perfect themselves in military skill, and each town to provide a full stock of arms and ammunition. Having voted to pay no more money to the royal collector, they chose a receiver-general of their own,

and instituted a system of provincial taxation. They appointed executive committees of safety, of correspondence, and of supplies. As the continental congress would not sanction their resuming the charter from Charles I., they adhered as nearly as possible to that granted by William and Mary; and summoned the councillors, duly
1774.
Oct. elected under that charter, to give attendance on the fourth Wednesday of November, to which time they adjourned. To their next meeting they referred the consideration of the propriety of sending agents to Canada.

The American revolution was destined on every side to lead to the solution of the highest questions of state. Principles of eternal truth, which in their universality are superior to sects and separate creeds, were rapidly effacing the prejudices of the past. The troubles of the thirteen colonies led the court of Great Britain to its first step in the emancipation of Catholics; and, with no higher object in view than to strengthen the authority of the king in America, the Quebec act of 1774 began that series of concessions, which at last opened the British parliament itself, and the high offices of administration to "papists."

In the belief that the loyalty of its possessions had been promoted by a dread of the French settlements on their northern and western frontier, Britain sought to create under its own auspices a distinct empire, suited to coerce her original colonies, and restrain them from aspiring to independence. For this end, it united into one province the territory of Canada, together with all the country northwest of the Ohio to the head of Lake Superior and the Mississippi, and consolidated all authority over this boundless region in the hands of the executive power. The Catholics were not displeased that the promise of a representative assembly was not kept. In 1763 they had all been disfranchised in a land where there were few Protestants, except attendants on the army and government officials. A representative assembly, to which none but Protestants could be chosen, would have subjected almost all the inhabitants to a resident oligarchy, hateful by their race and religion, their supremacy as conquerors, and their

selfishness. The Quebec act authorized the crown to confer posts of honor and of business upon Catholics; and they chose rather to depend on the clemency of the king than to have an exclusively Protestant parliament, like that of Ireland. This limited political toleration left no room for the sentiment of patriotism. The French Canadians of that day could not persuade themselves that they had a country. They would have desired an assembly, to which they should be eligible; but, since that was not to be obtained, they accepted their partial enfranchisement by the king, as a boon to a conquered people.

1774.
Oct.

The owners of estates were further gratified by the restoration of the French system of law. The English emigrants might complain of the want of jury trials in civil processes; but the French Canadians were grateful for relief from statutes which they did not comprehend, and from the chicanery of unfamiliar courts. The nobility of New France, who were accustomed to arms, were still further conciliated by the proposal to enroll Canadian battalions, in which they could hold commissions on equal terms with English officers. Here also the inspiration of nationality was wanting; and the whole population could never crowd to the British flag as they had rallied to the lilies of France. There would remain always the sentiment that they were waging battle not for themselves, and defending a government which was not their own.

The great dependence of the crown was on the clergy. The capitulation of New France had guaranteed to them freedom of public worship; but the laws for their support were held to be no longer valid. By the Quebec act they were confirmed in the possession of their ancient churches and their revenues; so that the Roman Catholic worship was as effectually established in Canada as the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. When Carleton returned to his government, bearing this great measure of conciliation, of which he was known to have been the adviser, he was welcomed by the Catholic bishop and priests of Quebec with professions of loyalty; and the memory of Thurlow and Wedderburn, who carried the act through parliament, is gratefully

embalmed in Canadian history. And yet the clergy were conscious that the concession of the great privileges which they now obtained was but an act of worldly policy, mainly due to the disturbed state of the Protestant colonies. Their joy at relief was sincere; but still, for the cause of Great Britain, Catholic Canada could not uplift the banner of the King of heaven or seek the perils of martyrdom.

Such was the frame of mind of the French Canadians when the American congress sent among them its appeal. The time was come for applying the new principle of the power of the people to the old divisions in Christendom between the Catholic and the Protestant world. Protestantism, in the sphere of politics, had hitherto been the representative of that increase of popular liberty which had grown out of free inquiry; while the Catholic Church, under the early influence of Roman law, had inclined to monarchical power. These relations were now to be modified.

The Catholic Church asserted the unity, the universality, and the unchangeableness of truth; and this principle, however it may have been perversely made subservient to ecclesiastical organization, tyranny, or superstition, rather demanded than opposed universal emancipation and brotherhood. Yet the thirteen colonies were all Protestant; even in Maryland, the Catholics formed but an eighth, or perhaps not more than a twelfth part of the population; their presence in other provinces, except Pennsylvania, was hardly perceptible. The members of congress had not wholly purged themselves of Protestant bigotry. Something of this appeared in their resolutions of rights, and in their address to the people of British America. In the address to the people of Great Britain, it was even said that the Roman Catholic religion had "dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion through every part of the world." But the desire of including Canada in the confederacy compelled the Protestants of America to adopt and promulgate the principle of religious equality and freedom. In the masterly address to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec, drawn by Dickinson, all old religious jealousies were con-

demned as low-minded infirmities; and the Swiss cantons were cited as examples of a union composed of Catholic and Protestant states.

Appeals were also made to the vanity and the pride of the French population. After a clear and precise analysis of the Quebec act, and the contrast of its provisions with English liberties, the shade of Montesquieu was evoked, as himself saying to the Canadians: "Seize the opportunity presented to you by Providence itself. You have been conquered into liberty, if you act as you ought. This work is not of man. You are a small people, compared to those who with open arms invite you into a fellowship. The injuries of Boston have roused and associated every colony from Nova Scotia to Georgia. Your province is the only link wanting to complete the bright and strong chain of union. Nature has joined your country to theirs; do you join your political interests; for their own sakes, they never will desert or betray you. The happiness of a people inevitably depends on their liberty, and their spirit to assert it. The value and extent of the advantages tendered to you are immense. Heaven grant you may not discover them to be blessings after they have bid you an eternal adieu."

With such persuasions, the congress unanimously invited the Canadians to "accede to their confederation." Whether the invitation should be accepted or repelled, the old feud between the nations which adhered to the Roman Catholic Church, and the free governments which had sprung from Protestantism, was coming to an end.

CHAPTER XV.

THE GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA NULLIFIES THE QUEBEC ACT.

OCTOBER—NOVEMBER, 1774.

THE attempt to extend the jurisdiction of Quebec to the Ohio River had no sanction in English history, and
1774. was resisted by the older colonies, especially by Virginia. The interest of the crown officers in the adjacent provinces was also at variance with the policy of parliament.

No royal governor showed more rapacity in the use of official power than Lord Dunmore. He had reluctantly left New York, where, during his short career, he had acquired fifty thousand acres of land, and, himself acting as chancellor, was preparing to decide in his own court, in his own favor, a large and unfounded claim which he had preferred against the lieutenant-governor. Upon entering on the government of Virginia, his passion for land and fees outweighing the proclamation of the king and reiterated and most positive instructions from the secretary of state, he advocated the claims of the colony to the west, and was himself a partner in two immense purchases of land from the Indians in Southern Illinois. In 1773, his agents, the Bullets, made surveys at the falls of the Ohio; and a part of Louisville, and of the towns opposite Cincinnati, are now held under his warrant. The area of the Ancient Dominion expanded with his cupidity.

Pittsburg, and the country as far up the Monongahela as Redstone Old Fort, formed the rallying point for western emigration and Indian trade. It was a part of the county of Westmoreland, in Pennsylvania. Suddenly, and without proper notice to the council of that province, Dunmore extended his own jurisdiction over the tempting and well-

peopled region. He found a willing instrument in one John Connolly, a native of Pennsylvania, a physician, land-jobber, and subservient political intriguer, who had travelled much in the Ohio valley, both by water and land. Commissioned by Dunmore as captain-commandant for Pittsburg and its dependencies, that is to say, of all the western country, Connolly opened the year 1774 with a proclamation of his authority; and he directed a muster of the militia. The western people, especially the emigrants from Maryland and Virginia, spurned the meek tenets of the Quakers, and inclined to the usurpation. The governor and council of Pennsylvania took measures to support their indisputable right. This Dunmore passionately resented as a personal insult, and would neither listen to irrefragable arguments, nor to candid offers of settlement by joint 1774. commissioners, nor to the personal application of two of the council of Pennsylvania. Jurisdiction was opposed to jurisdiction; arrests were followed by counter arrests; the country on the Monongahela, then the great avenue to the west, became a scene of confusion.

The territory north and west of the Ohio belonged by act of parliament to the province of Quebec; yet Dunmore professed to conduct the government and grant the lands on the Scioto, the Wabash, and the Illinois. South of the Ohio River, Franklin's inchoate province of Vandalia stretched from the Alleghanies to Kentucky River; the treaty at Fort Stanwix bounded Virginia by the Tennessee; the treaty at Lochaber carried its limit only to the mouth of the Great Kanawha. The king's instructions confined settlements to the east of the mountains. There was no one, therefore, having authority to give an undisputed title to any land west of the Alleghanies, or to restrain the restlessness of the American emigrants. With the love of wandering that formed a part of their nature, the hardy backwoodsman, clad in a hunting-shirt and deerskin leggins, armed with a rifle, a powder-horn, and a pouch for shot and bullets, a hatchet and a hunter's knife, descended the mountains in quest of more distant lands, which he for ever imagined to be richer and lovelier than those which he knew. Wher-

ever he fixed his halt, the hatchet hewed logs for his cabin, and blazed trees of the forest kept the record of his title-deeds; nor did he conceive that a British government
1774. had any right to forbid the occupation of lands which were either uninhabited or only broken by a few scattered villages of savages, whom he looked upon as but little removed above the brute creation.

The Indians themselves were regardless of treaties. Notwithstanding the agreement with Bouquet, they still held young men and women of Virginia in captivity; and the annals of the wilderness never ceased to record their barbarous murders. The wanderer in search of a new home on the banks of the Mississippi risked his life at every step; so that a system of independent defence and private war became the custom of the backwoods. The settler had every motive to preserve peace; yet he could not be turned from his purpose by fear, and trusted for security in the forest to his perpetual readiness for self-defence. Not a twelve-month passed away without a massacre of pioneers. Near the end of 1773, Daniel Boone would have taken his wife and children to Kentucky. At Powell's valley, he was joined by five families and forty men. On or near the tenth of October, as they approached Cumberland Gap, the young men, who had charge of the pack-horses and cattle in the rear, were suddenly attacked by Indians; one only escaped; the remaining six, among whom was Boone's eldest son, were killed on the spot: so that the survivors of the party were forced to turn back to the settlements on Clinch River. When the Cherokees were summoned from Virginia to give up the offenders, they shifted the accusation from one tribe to another, and the application for redress had no effect; but one of those who had escaped murdered an Indian at a horse-race on the frontier, notwithstanding the interposition of all around. This was the first Indian blood shed by a white man from the time of the treaty of Bouquet.

In the beginning of February, 1774, the Indians killed six white men and two negroes; and, near the end of the same month, they seized a trading canoe on the Ohio, killed

the men on board, and carried their goods to the Shawnee towns. In March, Michael Cresap, after a skirmish, and the loss of one man on each side, took from 1774. a party of Indians five loaded canoes. It became known that messages were passing between the tribes of the Ohio, the western Indians, and the Cherokees; and Connolly, from Pittsburg, on the twenty-first of April, wrote to the inhabitants of Wheeling to be on the alert.

Incensed by the succession of murders, the backwoodsmen, who were hunters like the Indians and equally ungovernable, were forming war-parties along the frontier from the Cherokee country to Pennsylvania. When the letter of Connolly fell into Cresap's hands, he and his party esteemed themselves authorized to engage in private war; and, on the twenty-sixth of April, they fired upon two Indians who were with a white man in a canoe on the Ohio, and killed them both. On the thirtieth of April, five Delawares and Shawnees, with their women, among whom was one at least of the same blood with Logan, happening to encamp near Yellow Creek, on the site of the present town of Wellsville, were enticed across the river by a trader; and about noon, when they had become intoxicated, were murdered in cold blood. Two others, crossing the Ohio to look after their friends, were shot down as soon as they came ashore. At this, five more, who were following, turned their course; but, being immediately fired at, two were killed and two wounded. The next day, a Shawnee was killed, and another man wounded. Thirteen Indians were killed between the twenty-first of April and the end of the month.

At the tidings of this bloodshed, fleet messengers of the red men ran with the wail of war to the Muskingum and to the Shawnee villages in Ohio. The alarm of the emigrants increased along the frontier from the Watauga to the lower Monongahela; and frequent expresses reached Williamsburg, entreating assistance. The governor, following an intimation from the assembly in May, ordered the militia of the frontier counties to be imbodyed for defence. Meantime, Logan's soul called within him for revenge. In his

early life he had dwelt near the beautiful plain of Shamokin, which overhangs the Susquehannah and the vale of Sunbury. There Zinzendorf introduced the Cayuga chief, his father, to the Moravians; and there, three years later, Brainerd wore away life as a missionary among the fifty cabins of the village. Logan had grown up as the friend of white men; but the spirits of his kindred clamored for blood. With chosen companions, he went out upon the war-path, and added scalp to scalp, till the number was also thirteen. "Now," said the chief, "I am satisfied for the loss of my relations, and will sit still."

But the Shawnees, the most warlike of the tribes, prowled from the Alleghany River to what is now Sullivan county in Tennessee. One of them returned with the scalps of forty men, women, and children. On the other hand, a party of white men, with Dunmore's permission, destroyed an Indian village on the Muskingum.

To restrain the backwoodsmen and end the miseries which distracted the frontier, and to look after his own interests and his agents, Dunmore, with the hearty approbation of the colony, called out the militia of the south-west, and himself repaired to Pittsburg. In September, 1774, he renewed peace with the Delawares and the Six Nations. Then, with about twelve hundred men, among whom was Daniel Morgan with a company from the valley of Virginia, he descended the Ohio; and, disregarding his promise to wait at the mouth of the Little Kanawha for the men from the south-western counties of Virginia, he crossed the river and proceeded to the Shawnee towns, which he found deserted.

The summons from Dunmore, borne beyond the Blue Ridge, roused the settlers on the Greenbrier, the New River, and the Holston. The Watauga republicans also, who never owned English rule, and never required English protection, heard the cry of their brethren in distress; and a company of nearly fifty of them, under the command of Evan Shelby, with James Robertson and Valentine Sevier as sergeants, marched as volunteers. The name of every one of them is preserved and cherished. Leaving home in

August, they crossed the New River, and joined the army of Western Virginia at Camp Union, on the Great Levels of Greenbrier. From that place, now called Lewisburg, to the mouth of the Great Kanawha, the distance is about one hundred and sixty miles. At that time there was not even a trace over the rugged mountains; but the gallant young woodsmen who formed the advance party moved expeditiously with their pack-horses and droves of cattle through the old home of the wolf, the deer, and the panther. After a fortnight's struggle, they left behind them the last rocky masses of the hill-tops; and passing between the gigantic growth of primeval forests, where, in that autumnal season, the golden hue of the linden, the sugar tree, and the hickory, contrasted with the glistening green of the laurel, the crimson of the sumach, and the shadows of the sombre hemlock, they descended to where the valley of Elk River widens into a plain. There they paused only to build canoes; having been joined by a second party, so that they made a force of nearly eleven hundred men, they descended the Kanawha, and on the sixth of October encamped on Point Pleasant, near its junction with the Ohio. 1774.
Oct.

But no message reached them from Dunmore.

Of all the western Indians, the Shawnees were the fiercest. They despised other warriors, red or white; and made a boast of having killed ten times as many of the English as any other tribe. They stole through the forest with Mingoes and Delawares, to attack the army of South-western Virginia.

At daybreak, on the tenth, two young men, ram- Oct. 10.
bling up the Ohio in search of deer, fell on the camp of the Indians, who had crossed the river the evening before, and were just preparing for battle. One of the two was instantly shot down; the other fled with the intelligence to the camp. In two or three minutes after, Robertson and Sevier of Shelby's company came in and confirmed the account. Colonel Andrew Lewis, who had the command, instantly ordered out two divisions, each of one hundred and fifty men; the Augusta troops under his brother Charles Lewis, the Botetourt troops under Fleming.

Just as the sun was rising, the Indians opened a heavy fire on both parties, wounding Charles Lewis mortally. Fleming was wounded thrice; and the Virginians must have given way, but for successive re-enforcements from the camp, in which Andrew Lewis himself remained to the end of the action. "Be strong," cried Cornstalk, the chief of the red men; and he animated them by his example. Till the hour of noon, the combatants fought from behind trees, never above twenty yards apart, often within six, and sometimes near enough to strike with the tomahawk. At length the Indians, under the protection of the close underwood and fallen trees, retreated, till they gained an advantageous line extending from the Ohio to the Kanawha. A desultory fire was kept up on both sides till after sunset, when, under the favor of night, the savages fled across the river. The victory, which was due not to the general, but to the indomitable courage of the soldiers, cost the Virginians three colonels of militia, forty-six men killed, and about eighty wounded.

This battle was the most bloody and best contested in the annals of forest warfare. How many red men were engaged, and how many of them fell, was never ascertained. The heroes of the day proved themselves worthy to found states. Among them were Isaac Shelby, the first governor of Kentucky; William Campbell; the brave George Matthews; Fleming; Andrew Moore, afterwards a senator of the United States; Evan Shelby; James Robertson; and Valentine Sevier. Their praise resounded not in the backwoods only, but through all Virginia; but "odium was thrown on the conduct of Andrew Lewis."

Soon after the battle, a re-enforcement of three hundred troops arrived from Fincastle. Following orders tardily received from Dunmore, the little army, leaving a garrison at Point Pleasant, dashed across the Ohio to defy new battles.

After a march of eighty miles through an untrodden wilderness, on the twenty-fourth of October they encamped on the banks of Congo Creek in Pickaway, near old Chillicothe. The Indians, disheartened at the junction, threw themselves on the mercy of the English; and at

1774.
Oct.

Camp Charlotte, which stood on the left bank of Sippo Creek, about seven miles south-east of Circleville, Dunmore admitted them to a conference.

Before the council was brought to a close, all differences were adjusted. The Shawnees agreed to deliver up their prisoners without reserve; to restore all horses and other property which they had carried off; to hunt no more on the Kentucky side of the Ohio; to molest no boats passing on the river; to regulate their trade by the king's instructions, and to deliver up hostages. Virginia has left on record her judgment, that Dunmore's conduct in this campaign was "truly noble, wise, and spirited." The results inured exclusively to the benefit of America. The Indians desired peace; the rancor of the white people changed to confidence; and the Virginian army, appearing as umpire in the valley of the Scioto, nullified the statute which extended the jurisdiction of Quebec to the Ohio.

The western Virginians, moreover, halting at Fort Gower on the north of the Ohio, on the fifth of ^{1774.} Nov. 5. November, took their part in considering the grievances of their country. They were "blessed with the talents" to bear all hardships of the woods; to pass weeks comfortably without bread or salt; for dress, to be satisfied with a blanket, or a hunting-shirt and skins; to sleep with no covering but heaven; to march further in a day than any men in the world; and to use the rifle with a precision that to all but themselves was a miracle. For three months they had heard nothing from the east, where some jealousy might arise of so large a body of armed men under a leader like Dunmore. They, therefore, held themselves bound to publish their sentiments. Professing zeal for the honor of America and especially Virginia, they promised continued allegiance to the king, if he would but reign over them as "a brave and free people." "But," said they, "as attachment to the real interests and just rights of America outweigh every other consideration, we resolve that we will exert every power within us for the defence of American liberty, when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen."

America contrasted the regiments of regulars at Boston, ingloriously idle and having no purpose but to enslave a self-protected province, with the noble Virginians, braving danger at the call of a royal governor, and pouring out their blood to win the victory for western civilization.

On the ninth, the general committee of South Carolina summoned a convention of the inhabitants of the colony by representation. In the apportionment of representatives, Charleston, on the proposal of Charles Pinckney, obtained thirty, keeping up the inequality which began in the committee; at the desire of "the country gentlemen," six were allowed to each of nineteen parishes, which lay along the sea and in the lowlands; while all the upland territory was divided into four very large districts, to each of which ten only were conceded. This is the manner in which the distribution of political power in South Carolina was established; of one hundred and eighty-four representatives, the low country elected all but forty.

1774.
Nov. On the twenty-first, the Maryland convention was reassembled, and unanimously approved the proceedings of congress. It most earnestly recommended that all former differences about religion or politics, the feuds of so many generations between Catholics and Protestants, between the friends and the foes of the proprietary government, be for ever buried in oblivion; it conjured every man, by his duty to God, his country, and his posterity, to unite in defence of their common rights and liberties; and it promised to the utmost of its power to support Massachusetts against the attempt to carry the late act of parliament into execution by force.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OCTOBER—DECEMBER, 1774.

"IT is the united voice of America to preserve their freedom, or lose their lives in defence of it. Their resolutions are not the effect of inconsiderate rashness, but the sound result of sober inquiry and deliberation. The true spirit of liberty was never so universally diffused through all ranks and orders of people in any country on the face of the earth, as it now is through all North America. If the late acts of parliament are not to be repealed, the wisest step for both countries is to separate, and not to spend their blood and treasure in destroying each other. It is barely possible that Great Britain may depopulate North America; she never can conquer the inhabitants." So wrote Joseph Warren, and his words were the mirror of the passions of his countrymen. They were addressed to the younger Quincy, who as a private man had crossed the Atlantic to study the state of affairs; they were intended to be made known in England, in the hope of awakening the king and his ministers from the delusion that America could be intimidated into submission.

1774.
Oct.

The eyes of the world were riveted on Franklin and George III. The former was environed by dangers; Gage was his willing accuser from Boston; the hatred which Hutchinson bore him never slumbered; the ministry affected to consider him as the cause of all the troubles; he knew himself to be in daily peril of arrest; but "the great friends of the colonies" entreated him to stay, and some glimmering of hope remained that the

Oct.
Nov.

manufacturers and merchants of England would successfully interpose their mediating influence. The king on his part never once harbored the thought of concession, and "left the choice of war or peace" to depend on the obedience of Massachusetts.

The elections to parliament came on, while the people of England were still swayed by pride; and the question was artfully misrepresented, as though it were only that Massachusetts refused to pay a very moderate indemnity for property destroyed by a mob, and resisted an evident improvement in its administrative system, from a deliberate conspiracy with other colonies to dissolve the connection with the mother country. During the progress of the canvass, bribery came to the aid of the ministry, for many of the members who were purchasing seats expected to reimburse themselves by selling their votes to the government.

The shrewd French minister at London, witnessing the briskness of the traffic, bethought himself that, where elections depended on the purse, the king of France might buy a borough as rightfully at least as the king of England, who, by law and the constitution, was bound to guard the franchises of his people against corruption. "You will learn with interest," thus Garnier, in November, 1774. Nov. announced his bargain to Vergennes, "that you will have in the house of commons a member who will belong to you. His vote will not help us much; but the copies of even the most secret papers, and the clear and exact report which he can daily furnish us, will contribute essentially to the king's service."

Excess had impoverished many even of the heirs to the largest estates, and lords as well as commoners offered themselves at market; so that "if America," said Franklin, "would save for three or four years the money she spends in the fashions and fineries and fopperies of this country, she might buy the whole parliament, ministry and all."

In the general venality, Edmund Burke was displaced. Lord Varney, who had hitherto gratuitously brought him into parliament, had fallen into debt, and, instead of carrying along his investment in the chance of Rockingham's

return to the ministry, he turned his back on deferred hopes and friendship, and pocketed for his borough the most cash he could get.

Burke next coquetted with Wilkes for support at Westminster; but "the great patriot" preferred Lord Mahon. "Wilkes has touched Lord Mahon's money, and desires to extort more by stirring up a multitude of candidates," said Burke, in the fretful hallucinations of his chagrin; while, in fact, the influence of Wilkes was of no avail; Westminster shared the prevalent excitement against America, and elected tories. Sometimes, when alone, Burke fell into an inexpressible melancholy, and thought of renouncing public life, for which he owned himself unfit. There seemed for him no way to St. Stephen's chapel, except through a rotten borough belonging to Rockingham; and what influence would the first man in England for speculative intelligence exert in the house of commons, if he should appear there as the paid agent of an American colony and the nominee of an English patron?

Such was his best hope, when, on the eleventh of 1774.
October, he was invited to become a candidate at Oct.
Bristol against Viscount Clare, who, in the debates on repealing the stamp act, had stickled for "the pepper-corn" from America. He hastened to the contest with alacrity, avowing for his principle British superiority, which was yet to be reconciled with American liberty; and, after a struggle of three weeks, he, with Henry Cruger of New York as his colleague, was elected to represent the great trading city of Western England.

Bristol was almost the only place which changed its representation to the advantage of America; Wilkes was successful in the county of Middlesex, and, after a ten years' struggle, the king, from zeal to concentrate opinion against America, made no further opposition to his admittance; but in the aggregate the ministry increased its majorities.

It was noticeable that William Howe was the candidate for Nottingham. To the questions of that liberal constituency he freely answered that the ministry had pushed

matters too far ; that the whole British army would not be sufficient to conquer America ; that, if offered a command there, he would refuse it ; that he would vote for the repeal of the four penal acts of parliament ; and he turned to his advantage the affectionate respect still cherished for his brother, who fell near Lake George.

The elections were over ; and it was evident that the government might have every thing its own way, ^{1774.} when, on the eighteenth of November, letters of the ^{Nov.} preceding September, received from Gage, announced that the act of parliament for regulating the government of Massachusetts could be carried into effect only after the conquest of all the New England colonies ; that the province had warm friends throughout the North American continent ; that people in Carolina were “ as mad ” as in Boston ; that the country people in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were exercising in arms and forming magazines of ammunition and such artillery, good and bad, as they could procure ; that the civil officers of the British government had no asylum but Boston. In a private letter, Gage proposed that the obnoxious acts should be suspended. In an official paper, he hinted that it would be well to cut the colonies adrift, and leave them to anarchy and repentance ; they had grown opulent through Britain, and, were they cast off and declared aliens, they must become a poor and needy people. But the king heard these suggestions with scorn. “ The New England governments,” said he to North, “ are now in a state of rebellion. Blows must decide whether they are to be subject to this country or to be independent.” On the other hand, Franklin explicitly avowed to his nearest friends that there was now no safety for his native country but in total emancipation.

The fourteenth parliament was opened on the last ^{Nov. 30.} day of November. British influence during the summer had assisted in establishing between the czar and the Ottoman Porte the peace which was so glorious and eventful for Russia. The speech from the throne offered congratulations on the tranquillity of Europe, and fixed attention on the disobedience in Massachusetts. In the

house of lords, Hillsborough moved an address, expressing abhorrence of the principles which that province maintained. "There are now," said he, referring to Quincy of Boston, "men walking in the streets of London, who ought to be in Newgate or at Tyburn." After a long and vehement debate, his motion prevailed by a vote of about five to one. But Rockingham, Shelburne, Camden, Stanhope, and five other peers, entered a protest against "the inconsiderate temerity which might precipitate the country into a civil war." "The king's speech," wrote Garnier to Vergennes, "will complete the work of alienating the colonies. Every day makes conciliation more difficult and more needed."

On the fifth of December, the new house of com-
mons debated the same subject. Fox, Burke, and
others, spoke warmly. The results of the congress had not arrived; for the vessel which bore them had, after ten days, put back to New York in distress. Lord North could therefore say that America had as yet offered no terms; at the same time he avoided the irrevocable word rebellion. Some called the Americans cowards; some questioned their being in earnest; Barré declared the scheme of subduing them "wild and impracticable;" but the minister was sustained by a very great majority.

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Lord North had neither originated nor fully approved the American measures, which he had himself brought forward; and he sought an escape from his dilemma by proposing to send out commissioners of inquiry. But the king promptly overruled the suggestion.

Friends of Franklin were next employed to ascertain the extent of his demands for America; and, without waiting for the proceedings of congress, he wrote "hints on the terms that might produce a durable union between Great Britain and the colonies." Assuming that the tea duty act would be repealed, he offered payment for the tea that had been destroyed, support of the peace establishment and government, liberal aids in time of war on requisition by the king and parliament, and, if Britain would give up its monopoly of American commerce, a continuance of the same aids in time of peace. On the other hand, he asked

the repeal of the Quebec act, and insisted on the repeal of the acts regulating the government and changing the laws of Massachusetts. "The old colonies," it was objected, "have nothing to do with the affairs of Canada." "We assisted in its conquest," said Franklin; "loving liberty ourselves, we wish to have no foundation for future slavery laid in America." "The Massachusetts act," it was urged, "is an improvement of that government." "The pretended amendments are real mischiefs," answered Franklin; "but, were it not so, charters are compacts between two parties, the king and the people, not to be altered even for the better but by the consent of both. The parliament's claim and exercise of a power to alter charters, which had been always held inviolable, and to alter laws which, having received the royal approbation, had been deemed fixed and unchangeable but by the powers that made them, have rendered all our constitutions uncertain. As by claiming a right to tax at will, you deprive us of all property, so, by this claim of altering our laws at will, you deprive us of all privilege and right whatever but what we hold at your pleasure. We must risk life and every thing rather than submit to this."

1774. The words of Franklin spoke the sense of his coun-
Dec. trymen, and were in harmony with the true voice of England. "Were I an American," said Camden in the house of lords, "I would resist to the last drop of my blood." Still the annual estimates indicated no fear of the interruption of peace. The land-tax was continued at but three shillings in the pound; no vote of credit was required; the army was neither increased nor reformed; and the naval force was reduced by four thousand seamen. "How is it possible," asked the partisans of authority, "that a people without arms, ammunition, money, or navy, should dare to brave the foremost among all the powers on earth?" Had they been told that the farmers who formed the majority of the congress of Massachusetts, after a proposition to stop at a thousand pounds, then at two thousand, at last authorized an expenditure of but fifteen thousand pounds for military purposes; that the committee of safety of the province was, at that time, instructing the committee of supplies to pro-

vide two hundred spades, a hundred and fifty pickaxes, a thousand wooden mess bowls, and other small articles, as well as stores of peas and flour in proportion, 1774.
Dec. their contemptuous confidence might not have been diminished. "I know," said Sandwich, then at the head of the admiralty, "the low establishment proposed will be fully sufficient for reducing the colonies to obedience. Americans are neither disciplined, nor capable of discipline; their numbers will only add to the facility of their defeat;" and he made the lords merry with jests at their cowardice.

This arrogance of men, who had on their side the block and the gallows, demonstrated the purpose of reducing the colonies by force. "Prepare for the worst," wrote Quincy; "forbearance, delays, indecision, will bring greater evils." But the advice had not been waited for. The congress of Massachusetts, on hearing of the sudden dissolution of parliament, foresaw that the new house of commons would be chosen under the influence of the ministry. Though in November denounced by Gage in a proclamation as "an unlawful assembly, whose proceedings tended to ensnare the inhabitants of the province, and draw them into perjuries, riots, sedition, treason, and rebellion," though destitute of disciplined troops, munitions of war, armed vessels, military stores, and money, they had confidence that a small people, resolute in its convictions, outweighs an empire. Encouraged by the return of Samuel Adams, they adopted all the recommendations of the continental congress. While Gage delayed to strengthen Crown Point and Ticonderoga, the keys of the north, they established a secret correspondence with Canada. They entreated the ministers of the gospel in their colony "to assist in avoiding that dreadful slavery, with which all were now threatened." "You," said they to its people, "are placed by Providence in the post of honor, because it is the post of danger; and, while struggling for the noblest objects, the eyes not only of North America and the whole British empire, but of all Europe, are upon you. Let nothing unbecoming our character as Americans, as citizens and Christians, be justly chargeable to us. Whoever considers the number of brave

men inhabiting North America will know that a general attention to military discipline must so establish their rights and liberties as, under God, to render it impossible to destroy them. But we apprise you of your danger, which appears to us imminently great. The minute men, not already provided, should be immediately equipped, and disciplined three times a week, or oftener. With the utmost cheerfulness we assure you of our determination to stand or fall with the liberties of America." With such words they adjourned, to keep the annual Thanksgiving which they themselves had appointed; finding occasion in their distress to rejoice at "the smiles of Divine Providence" on "the union of their own province and throughout the continent."

As ships of the line successively arrived, they brought for the land service no more than six hundred recruits, which only made good the losses by sickness and desertion; so that Gage had scarcely three thousand effective men. Before the middle of December, it became known that the king in council had forbidden the export of arms to America; at once men from Providence removed more than forty pieces of cannon from the colony's works near Newport; and the assembly and merchants of Rhode Island took measures to import military stores.

At Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on Wednesday 1774.
Dec. the fourteenth of December, just after letters were received from Boston, members of the town committee, with other Sons of Liberty, preceded by a drum and fife, paraded the streets till their number grew to four hundred, when they made their way in scows and "gondolas" to the fort at the entrance of the harbor, overpowered the few invalids who formed its garrison, and carried off upwards of one hundred barrels of powder, that belonged to the province. The next day, without waiting for a large body on the road from Exeter, John Sullivan, who had been a member of the continental congress, led a party to dismantle the fort completely; and they brought away all the small arms, a quantity of shot, and sixteen light pieces of artillery.

The condition of Massachusetts was anomalous ; three hundred thousand people continued their usual avocations in undisturbed tranquillity without a legislature or executive officers, without sheriffs, judges, or justices of the peace. As the supervision of government disappeared, each man seemed more and more a law to himself ; and, as if to show that the world had been governed too much, order prevailed in a province where in fact there existed no administration but by committees, no military officers but those chosen by the militia. Yet never were legal magistrates obeyed with more alacrity. The selectmen continued their usual functions ; the service in the churches increased in fervor. From the sermons of memorable divines, who were gone to a heavenly country, leaving their names precious among the people of God on earth, a brief collection of faithful testimonies to the cause of God and his New England people was circulated by the press, that the hearts of the rising generation might know what had been the great end of the plantations, and count it their duty and their glory to continue in those right ways of the Lord wherein their fathers walked before them. Their successors in the ministry, all pupils of Harvard or Yale, lorded over by no prelate, with the people, and of the people, and true ministers to the people, unsurpassed by the clergy of an equal population in any part of the globe for learning, ability, and virtue, for metaphysical acuteness and familiarity with the principles of political freedom, were heard as of old with reverence by their congregations in their meeting-houses on every Lord's Day, and on special occasions of fasts, thanksgivings, lectures, and military musters. Elijah's mantle being caught up was a happy token that the Lord would be with this generation, as he had been with their fathers. Their exhaustless armory was the Bible, whose scriptures were stored with weapons for every occasion ; furnishing sharp words to point their appeals, apt examples of resistance, prophetic denunciations of the enemies of God's people, and promises of the divine blessing on the defenders of his law.

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But what most animated the country was the magnanimity of Boston ; "suffering amazing loss, but determined

to endure poverty and death, rather than betray America and posterity." Its people, under the eyes of the general, disregarding alike his army, his proclamations against
1774.
Dec. a provincial congress, and the British statute against town-meetings, came together according to their ancient forms; and, with Samuel Adams as moderator, elected delegates to the next provincial congress of Massachusetts.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE KING REJECTS THE OFFERS OF CONGRESS.

DECEMBER, 1774—JANUARY, 1775.

"IT will be easy to sow division among the delegates to the congress," said Rochford to Garnier: "they will do nothing but bring ridicule upon themselves by exposing their weakness." When just before the adjournment of parliament their proceedings reached England, their firmness, moderation, and unanimity took the ministry by surprise. "It is not at all for the interests of France that our colonies should become independent," repeated Rochford. "The English minister," reasoned Garnier, "thinks that, after all, they may set up for themselves." 1774.
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Franklin invited the colonial agents to unite in presenting the petition of congress, but he was joined only by those who were employed by Massachusetts. Dartmouth received it courteously, and laid it before the king, who promised that after the recess it should be communicated to parliament. Barrington, the military secretary, was the first to confess the weakness of his department. British industry made every able-bodied man of so much value that considerable enlistments at home were out of the question; rank in the army was bestowed by favor or sold for money, so that even boys at school held commissions; and not one general officer of that day had gained a great name. Aristocratic selfishness had unfitted England for war, unless under a minister who could inspire the nation. Barrington, therefore, who had advised "that the seven regiments in Boston should be directed to leave a place where they could do no good, and without intention might do harm," and

who was persuaded that the navy by itself was able to worry Massachusetts into "submission without shedding a drop of blood," once more pressed his opinions upon the government. "The contest," said he, "will cost more than we can gain. We have not strength to levy internal taxes on America; many amongst ourselves doubt their equity; all the troops in North America are not enough to subdue the Massachusetts; the most successful conquest must produce the horrors of civil war. Till the factious chiefs can be secured, judicial proceedings would confer the palm of martyrdom without the pain;" and he urged an immediate withdrawal of the troops, the "abandonment of all ideas of internal taxation," and such "concessions" as could be made "with dignity."

Lord North rejected the propositions of congress, which included the repeal of the act regulating Massachusetts;

1774.
Dec. but he was ready to negotiate with the Americans for the right to tax themselves. Franklin appeared as the great agent of the continent; and, as it was believed that his secret instructions authorized him to modify the conditions of conciliation, Lord Howe undertook to ascertain the extent of his powers.

The name was dear to Americans. The elder Lord Howe had fallen on their soil, as their companion in arms; and Massachusetts raised to him a monument in Westminster Abbey. His brother, William Howe, who had served with Americans in America, was selected as the new colonial commander in chief; and his oldest surviving brother, now Lord Howe, also honored in America as a gallant and upright naval officer, was to be commissioned as a pacificator.

"No man," said Lord Howe to Franklin at their first interview on Christmas-day evening, "can do more towards reconciling our differences than you. That you have been very ill-treated by the ministry, I hope will not be considered by you. I have a particular regard for New England, which has shown an endearing respect for my family. If you will indulge me with your ideas, I may be a means of bringing on a good understanding." At the unexpected prospect of restoring harmony, tears of joy wet Franklin's cheeks. He

had remained in London at the peril of his liberty, perhaps of his life, to promote reconciliation, and the only moment for securing it was come. With firmness, candor, and strict fidelity to congress, he explained the measures by which alone tranquillity could be restored; and they included the repeal of the regulating act for Massachusetts.

Lord Howe reported the result of the interview to Dartmouth and North; but they trusted to the plan of commissioners who should repair to America and endeavor to agree with its leading people upon some means of composing all differences. Every prospect of preferment was opened to Franklin, if he would take part in such a commission.

With exact truth and frankness, he pointed out, as 1774.
Dec. the basis for a cordial union, the repeal of the acts complained of; the removal of the fleet and the troops from Boston; and a voluntary recall of some oppressive measures which the colonists had passed over in silence; leaving the questions which related to aids, general commerce, and reparation to the India company, to be arranged with the next general congress.

The assembly of Jamaica, at their session in December, affirmed the rights of the colonies, enumerated their grievances, enforced their claims to redress, and entreated the king as a common parent to become the mediator between his European and American subjects, and to recognise the title of the Americans to the benefits of the English constitution as the bond of union between the colonists and Britain. At the same time, they disclaimed the intention of joining the American confederacy; "for," said they, "weak and feeble as this colony is, from its very small number of white inhabitants, and its peculiar situation from the incumbrance of more than two hundred thousand slaves, it cannot be supposed that we now intend, or ever could have intended, resistance to Great Britain." The commercial importance of the island gave them a claim to be heard; but their petition, though received by the king and communicated to the house of commons, had no effect whatever.

"It is plain enough," thus reasoned Vergennes, "the

king of England is puzzled between his desire of reducing the colonies, and his dread of driving them to a separation; so that nothing could be more interesting than the affairs of America." As the king of France might be called upon to render assistance to the insurgent colonies, the English support of the Corsicans was cited as a precedent to the

French embassy at London, and brought before the ^{1774.}
^{Dec.} cabinet at Versailles. To Louis XVI., Vergennes explained that the proceedings of the continental congress contained the germ of a rebellion; that, while the Americans really desired a reconciliation with the mother country, the ministry from their indifference would prevent its taking place; that Lord North, no longer confident of having America at his feet, was disconcerted by the unanimity and vigor of the colonies; and that France had nothing to fear but the return of Chatham to power.

The interests of Britain required Chatham's return; for he thoroughly understood the policy of the French, as well as the disposition of the colonies. In his interview with Americans, he said without reserve: "America, under all her oppressions and provocations, holds out to us the most fair and just opening for restoring harmony and affectionate intercourse." No public body ever gained so full and unanimous a recognition of its integrity and its wisdom as the general congress of 1774. The policy which its members proposed sprung so necessarily out of the relations of free countries to their colonies, that within a few years it was adopted even by their most malignant enemies among the British statesmen, for three quarters of a century regulated the colonial administration of every successive ministry, and finally gave way to a system of navigation yet more liberal than the American congress had proposed.

The day after Franklin's first conversation with Lord Howe, Chatham received him at Hayes. "The congress," said he, "is the most honorable assembly of statesmen since those of the ancient Greeks and Romans in the most virtuous times." He thought the petition to the king "decent, manly, and properly expressed." He questioned the assertion that the keeping up an army in the colonies in time of

peace required their consent; with that exception, he admired and honored the whole of the proceedings. "The army at Boston," said Franklin, who saw the imminent hazard of bloodshed, "cannot possibly answer any good purpose, and may be infinitely mischievous. No accommodation can be properly entered into by the Americans, while the bayonet is at their breasts. To have an agreement binding, all force should be withdrawn." The words sank deeply into the mind of Chatham, and he promised his utmost efforts to the American cause, as the last hope of liberty for England. "I shall be well prepared," said he, "to meet the ministry on the subject, for I think of nothing else both night and day."

Like Chatham, Camden desired the settlement of the dispute upon the conditions proposed by congress; and, from the coolness and wisdom of most of the American assemblies, he augured the establishment of their rights on a durable agreement with the mother country.

To unite every branch of the opposition in one line of policy, Chatham desired a cordial junction with the Rockingham whigs. That party had only two friends who spoke in the house of lords, and in the house of commons was mouldering away. And yet Rockingham was impracticable. "I look back," he said, "with very real satisfaction and content on the line which I, indeed, emphatically I, took in the year 1766; the stamp act was repealed, and the doubt of the right of this country was fairly faced and resisted." Burke, like his patron, pursued Chatham implacably, and refused to come to an understanding with him on general politics. Neither did he perceive the imminence of the crisis, but believed that the Americans would not preserve their unanimity, so that the controversy would draw into great length, and derive its chief importance from its aspect on parties in England. At the very moment when he was still fondly supporting the omnipotence of parliament over the colonies, he derided Chatham as the best bower anchor of the ministry.

With far truer instincts, Chatham divined that peril was near, and could be averted only by a circumscription of the

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absolute power of parliament. To further that end, the aged statesman paid a visit to Rockingham. At its opening, Chatbam's countenance beamed with cordiality; but Rockingham had learned as little as the ministers, and, with a perverseness equal to theirs, insisted on maintaining the declaratory act. "The Americans have not called for its repeal," was his reply to all objections; and he never could be made to comprehend the forbearance of congress. The opposition, thus divided, excited no alarm.

The majority of the cabinet, instead of respecting Lord North's scruples, were intriguing to get him turned out, and his place supplied by a thorough assertor of British supremacy. At a cabinet council, held on the twelfth ^{1775.} of January, 1775, his colleagues refused to find in ^{Jan. 12.} the proceedings of congress any honorable basis for conciliation. It was therefore resolved to interdict all commerce with the Americans; to protect the loyal, and to declare all others traitors and rebels. The vote, though designed only to divide the colonies, involved a civil war.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHATHAM LAYS THE FOUNDATION OF PEACE.

JANUARY 20, 1775.

AT the meeting of parliament after the holidays, Lord North, who had no plan of his own, presented papers relating to America. Burke complained of them as partial. They reminded Chatham of the statesman who said to his son: "See with how little wisdom this world of ours is governed;" and he pictured to himself Ximenes and Cortes in the shades discussing the merits of the ministers of England.

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Jan.

The twentieth of January was the first day of the session in the house of lords. It is not probable that even one of the peers had heard of the settlements beyond the Alleghanies, where the Watauga and the forks of Holston flow to the Tennessee. Yet, on the same day, the lords of that region, most of them Presbyterians of Scottish-Irish descent, met in council near Abingdon. Their united congregations, having suffered from sabbaths too much profaned, or wasted in melancholy silence at home, had called Charles Cummings to the pastoral charge of their precious and immortal souls. The men never went to public worship without being armed, or without their families. Their minister, on sabbath morning, would ride to the service armed with shot-pouch and rifle. Their meeting-house, which was always filled, was a large cabin of unhewn logs; and, when about twice in the year the bread and cup were distributed, the table was spread outside of the church in the neighboring grove. The news from congress reached them slowly; but, on receiving an account

of what had been done, they assembled in convention, and the spirit of freedom swept through their minds as naturally as the ceaseless forest wind sways the firs on the sides of the Black Mountains. They adhered unanimously to the association of congress, and named as their committee Charles Cummings their minister, Preston, Christian, Arthur Campbell, John Campbell, Evan Shelby, and others. They felt that they had a country; and, adopting the delegates of Virginia as their representatives, they addressed them as men whose conduct would immortalize them in its annals. "We explored," said they, "our uncultivated wilderness, bordering on many nations of savages, and surrounded by mountains almost inaccessible to any but these savages. But even to these remote regions the hand of power hath pursued us, to strip us of that liberty and property with which God, nature, and the rights of humanity have vested us. We are willing to contribute all in our power, if applied to constitutionally, but cannot think of submitting our liberty or property to a venal British parliament or a corrupt ministry. We are deliberately and resolutely determined never to surrender any of our inestimable privileges to any power upon earth, but at the expense of our lives. These are our real though unpolished sentiments of liberty and loyalty, and in them we are resolved to live and die."

While they were publishing in the western forests this declaration of a purpose, which they were sure to make good, Chatham was attempting to rouse the ministry from its indifference. "Your presence at this day's debate,"
^{1775.}
Jan. 20. said he to Franklin, whom he met by appointment in the lobby of the house of lords, "will be of more service to America than mine;" and, walking with him arm in arm, he would have introduced him near the throne among the sons and brothers of peers; but, being reminded of the rule of the house, he placed him below the bar, where he was still more conspicuous.

So soon as Dartmouth had laid the papers before the house, Chatham, after inveighing against the dilatoriness of the communication, moved to address the king for "im-

mediate orders to remove the forces from the town of Boston as soon as possible."

"My lords!" he continued, with a crowd of Americans as his breathless listeners, "the way must be ^{1775.} immediately opened for reconciliation; it will soon be too late; an hour now lost may produce years of calamity. This measure of recalling the troops from Boston is preparatory to the restoration of your peace and the establishment of your prosperity. Jan. 20.

"Resistance to your acts was necessary as it was just; and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally impotent to convince or enslave your fellow-subjects in America, who feel that tyranny, whether ambitioned by an individual part of the legislature or the bodies who compose it, is equally intolerable to British subjects.

"The means of enforcing this thralldom are as weak in practice as they are unjust in principle. General Gage and the troops under his command are penned up, pining in inglorious inactivity. You may call them an army of safety and of guard; but they are in truth an army of impotence; and, to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation. But this tameness, however contemptible, cannot be censured; for the first drop of blood, shed in civil and unnatural war, will make a wound that years, perhaps ages, may not heal. Their force would be most disproportionately exerted against a brave, generous, and united people, with arms in their hands and courage in their hearts: three millions of people, the genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those deserts by the narrow maxims of a superstitious tyranny. And is the spirit of persecution never to be appeased? Are the brave sons of those brave forefathers to inherit their sufferings, as they have inherited their virtues? Are they to sustain the infliction of the most oppressive and unexampled severity? They have been condemned unheard. The indiscriminate hand of vengeance has lumped together innocent and guilty; with all the formalities of hostility, has blocked up

the town of Boston, and reduced to beggary and famine thirty thousand inhabitants.

“But his majesty is advised that the union in America cannot last! I pronounce it a union, solid, permanent, and effectual. Its real stamina are to be looked for among the cultivators of the land; in their simplicity of life is found the integrity and courage of freedom. These true sons of the earth are invincible.

“This spirit of independence, animating the nation of America, is not new among them; it is, and has ever been, their confirmed persuasion. When the repeal of the stamp act was in agitation, a person of undoubted respect and authenticity on that subject assured me that these were the prevalent and steady principles of America; that you might destroy their towns, and cut them off from the superfluities, perhaps the conveniences of life, but that they were prepared to despise your power, and would not lament their loss, whilst they have — what, my lords? — their woods and their liberty.

“If illegal violences have been committed in America, prepare the way for acknowledgment and satisfaction; but cease your indiscriminate inflictions; amerce not thirty thousand, oppress not three millions, for the fault of forty or fifty individuals. Such severity of injustice must irritate your colonies to unappeasable rancor. What though you march from town to town and from province to province? How shall you be able to secure the obedience of the country you leave behind you in your progress, to grasp the dominion of eighteen hundred miles of continent?

“This resistance to your arbitrary system of taxation might have been foreseen from the nature of things and of mankind; above all, from the whiggish spirit flourishing in that country. The spirit which now resists your taxation in America is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and ship-money in England; the same which, by the bill of rights, vindicated the English constitution; the same which established the essential maxim of your liberties, that no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent.

“This glorious spirit of whiggism animates three millions in America, aided by every whig in England, to the amount, I hope, of double the American numbers. Ireland they have to a man. Let this distinction then remain for ^{1775.} Jan. 20. ever ascertained : taxation is theirs, commercial regulation is ours. They say you have no right to tax them without their consent ; they say truly. I recognise to the Americans their supreme, unalienable right in their property ; a right which they are justified in the defence of to the last extremity. To maintain this principle is the great common cause of the whigs on the other side of the Atlantic, and on this. ‘ ’Tis liberty to liberty engaged ; ’ the alliance of God and nature ; immutable and eternal.

“To such united force, what force shall be opposed ? A few regiments in America, and seventeen or eighteen thousand men at home ! The idea is too ridiculous to take up a moment of your lordships’ time. Unless the fatal acts are done away, the hour of danger must arrive in all its horrors, and then these boastful ministers, spite of all their confidence, shall be forced to abandon principles which they avow, but cannot defend ; measures which they presume to attempt, but cannot hope to effectuate.

“It is not repealing a piece of parchment that can restore America to our bosom : you must repeal her fears and her resentments ; and you may then hope for her love and gratitude. Insulted with an armed force posted at Boston, irritated with a hostile array before her eyes, her concessions, if you could force them, would be insecure. But it is more than evident that, united as they are, you cannot force them to your unworthy terms of submission.

“When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America, when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must avow that in all my reading, — and I have read Thucydides and have studied and admired the master-states of the world, — for solidity of reason, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion under a complication of difficult circumstances, no body of men can stand in preference to the general congress at Philadel-

phia. The histories of Greece and Rome give us nothing equal to it, and all attempts to impose servitude upon such a mighty continental nation must be vain. We shall be ^{1775.} forced ultimately to retract; let us retract while we _{Jan. 20.} can, not when we must. These violent acts must be repealed; you will repeal them; I pledge myself for it; I stake my reputation on it, that you will in the end repeal them. Avoid, then, this humiliating necessity. With a dignity becoming your exalted situation, make the first advances to concord, peace, and happiness; for that is your true dignity. Concession comes with better grace from superior power, and establishes solid confidence on the foundations of affection and gratitude. Be the first to spare; throw down the weapons in your hand.

“Every motive of justice and policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America by a removal of your troops from Boston, by a repeal of your acts of parliament, and by demonstrating amicable dispositions towards your colonies. On the other hand, to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous measures, every danger and every hazard impend; foreign war hanging over you by a thread; France and Spain watching your conduct, and waiting for the maturity of your errors.

“If the ministers persevere in thus misadvising and misleading the king, I will not say that the king is betrayed, but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone; I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown, but I will affirm that, the American jewel out of it, they will make the crown not worth his wearing.”

The words of Chatham, when reported to the king, recalled his last interview with George Grenville, and stung him to the heart. He raved at the wise counsels of the greatest statesman of his dominions, as the words of an abandoned politician; classed him with Temple and Grenville as “void of gratitude;” and months afterwards was still looking for the time “when decrepitude or age should put an end to him as the trumpet of sedition.”

With a whining delivery, of which the bad effect was heightened by a violence that was almost madness, Suffolk,

who boasted of having been one of the first to advise coercive measures, assured the house that, in spite of Lord Chatham's prophecy, the government was resolved to repeal not one of the acts, but to use all possible means to bring the Americans to obedience.

Shelburne gave his adhesion to the sentiments of Chatham, not from personal engagements, but solely on account of his conviction of their wisdom, justice, and propriety. Camden, who in the discussion surpassed every one but Chatham, returned to his old ground. "This," he declared, "I will say, not only as a statesman, politician, and philosopher, but as a common lawyer: my lords, you have no right to tax America; the natural rights of man, and the immutable laws of nature, are all with that people. King, lords, and commons are fine sounding names; but king, lords, and commons may become tyrants as well as others; it is as lawful to resist the tyranny of many as of one. Somebody once asked the great Selden in what book you might find the law for resisting tyranny. 'It has always been the custom of England,' answered Selden, 'and the custom of England is the law of the land.'"

"My lords," said Lord Gower, with contemptuous sneers, "let the Americans talk about their natural and divine rights! their rights as men and citizens! their rights from God and nature! I am for enforcing these measures." Rochford held Lord Chatham, jointly with the Americans, responsible in his own person for disagreeable consequences. Lyttelton reproached Chatham with spreading the fire of sedition, and the Americans with designing to emancipate themselves from the act of navigation.

Chatham closed the debate as he had opened it, by insisting on the right of Great Britain to regulate the commerce of the whole empire; but as to the right of the Americans to exemption from taxation, except by their implied or express assent, they derived it from God, nature, and the British constitution. Franklin with rapt admiration listened to the man who on that day had united the highest wisdom and eloquence. "His speech," said the young William Pitt, "was the most forcible that can be

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imagined; in matter and manner far beyond what I can express; it must have an infinite effect without doors, the bar being crowded with Americans."

The statesmanship of Chatham and the close reasoning of Camden "availed no more than the whistling of the winds:" the motion was rejected by a vote of sixty-eight against eighteen; but the Duke of Cumberland, ^{1775.} Jan. 20. one of the king's own brothers, was found in the minority. The king, triumphing in "the very handsome majority," was sure "nothing could be more calculated to bring the Americans to submission;" but the debate of that day, notwithstanding that Rockingham had expressed his adherence to his declaratory act, went forth to the colonies as an assurance that the inevitable war would be a war with a ministry, not with the British people. It took from the contest the character of internecine hatred, to be transmitted from generation to generation, and showed that the true spirit of England, which had grown great by freedom, was on the side of America. Its independence was foreshadowed; and three of Chatham's hearers on that day, Franklin, Shelburne, and his own son, William Pitt, never ceased in exertions, till their joint efforts established peace and international good-will.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE PEOPLE OF NEW YORK TRUE TO UNION.

JANUARY—FEBRUARY, 1775.

WHILE Gage was waiting for England to undertake in earnest the subjugation of America, the king expected every moment to hear that the small but well-disciplined force at Boston had struck a decisive blow at a disorderly "rabble." Neither he nor his ministers believed the hearty union of so vast a region as America possible. But, at the one extreme, New Hampshire in convention unanimously adhered to the recent congress, and elected delegates to the next; at the other, South Carolina on the eleventh of January held a general meeting, which was soon resolved into a provincial congress, with Charles Pinckney for president. They then called upon their deputies to explain why they had not included in the list of grievances the entire series of monopolies and restrictions; and they murmured at the moderation of Virginia, which had refused to look further back than 1763. Gadsden proposed to strike out the exceptional privilege in the association in favor of exporting rice. The torrent of enthusiasm was able to break down the plea of interest; and after a debate of a day, in which John Rutledge pointed out the inequality and impolicy of extending the restriction, nearly half the body, seventy-five members against eighty-seven, were still ready to sacrifice the rice crop. Had the minority prevailed, they would have impoverished the province without benefit to the union; the convention of South Carolina wisely adopted the continental measures without change, completed her internal organization, elected delegates to the congress, encouraged her inhabitants to learn the use of arms, and asked their prayers that God would

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defend their just title to freedom, and "avert the impending calamities of civil war." If blood should be spilled in Massachusetts, her sons were to rise in arms.

Georgia, from its weakness, was much influenced ^{1775.} by the royal government. On the twelfth, the rep-
Jan. 12 resentatives of the extensive district of Darien, assembling in a local congress, held up the conduct of Massachusetts to the imitation of mankind, joined in all the resolutions of the grand American congress, and instructed their delegates to the provincial congress accordingly. They demanded liberal land laws to attract the distressed in Britain and elsewhere to the new world which Providence had opened for them; for, said they, "all encouragement should be given to the poor of every nation by every generous American." They loved freedom for its own sake, and made it known in these words: "To show the world that we are not influenced by any contracted or interested motives, but a general philanthropy for all mankind, of whatever climate, language, or complexion, we hereby declare our disapprobation and abhorrence of the unnatural practice of slavery in America (however the uncultivated state of our country or other specious arguments may plead for it); a practice founded in injustice and cruelty, and highly dangerous to our liberties as well as lives, debasing part of our fellow-creatures below men, and corrupting the morals of the rest, and laying the basis of that liberty we contend for (and which we pray the Almighty to continue to the latest posterity) upon a very wrong foundation. We therefore resolve at all times to use our utmost endeavors for the manumission of our slaves in this colony, upon the most safe and equitable footing for the masters and themselves."

The provincial congress, which was called to meet
Jan. 18. on the eighteenth at Savannah, failed of its end, since five only out of twelve parishes in the province were represented, and some of these were bound to half-way measures by their instructions. The legislature, which simultaneously assembled, might have interposed, had it not been suddenly prorogued by the royal governor. But towards

the southern border, in the parish of St. John, which contained one third of the wealth of Georgia, the inhabitants, chiefly descendants of New England people, mocked by the royalists as Puritans, Independents, republicans, or at least Oliverians, conformed to the resolutions of the continental congress; after some negotiation with South Carolina, appointed Lyman Hall to represent them in Philadelphia; and set apart two hundred barrels of rice for their brethren in Boston.

Virginia looked to Washington as her adviser in military affairs. In December, 1774, the Maryland convention, resting "the security of free government on a well-regulated militia, composed of the gentlemen, freeholders, and other freemen," had recommended to the inhabitants of the province to form themselves into companies of sixty-eight men under officers of their own choice; and had apportioned among the several counties the sum of ten thousand pounds in currency, to be raised by subscription or voluntary offerings, for the purchase of arms. The measure took the sword out of the hands of the governor, to whom all military appointments had belonged, and directed the people to choose their own officers to defend Massachusetts and themselves. The resolve might have remained ^{1775.} ^{Jan. 17.} unheeded among the many votes of conventions, had not the Virginians of the Fairfax county committee, on the seventeenth of January, adopted the substance and almost the very words of the resolve, and had not Washington, as their chairman, published them under the sanction of his name. Thus he stood forth before the country as the early and the earnest advocate of a revolutionary system which set aside the war powers of the royal governor and encouraged the people to make their own military organization and elect their own officers. The royalists were well aware of the full significance of his proposition, and the weight of the personal responsibility which he assumed. A company composed exclusively of "the sons of gentlemen" in his neighborhood chose Washington as their commander, and he gave them his support. Every county in Virginia glowed with zeal to embody its militia; the marksmen,

armed with rifles, chose the costume of the painted hunting-shirt and moccasins. Mutual pledges were given for each one to keep a good firelock, a supply of ammunition, bullet-moulds, powder-horn, and bag for balls. The committee of Northampton county offered a premium for the manufacture of gunpowder. Dunmore's excursion to the frontiers had justified a prorogation of the assembly until the second ^{1775.} of February; but when, near the end of January, ^{Jan.} the colony was surprised by a further prorogation to May, Peyton Randolph, as the organ of the people against the representative of the crown, directed the choice of deputies to a colony convention in March.

The influence of Washington and his county confirmed the decision of Maryland. The Presbyterians of Baltimore supported "the good old cause." Near Annapolis, the volunteers whom Charles Lee began to muster melted away before his overbearing manner and incapacity; but the inhabitants would hear of no opposition to the recommendations of congress. In Delaware, a little army that stood in the same relation to the people sprung up from the general enthusiasm.

The trust of the ministry was in the central provinces. To divide the colonies they were urged to petition the king separately, in the hope that some one of them would offer acceptable terms. Especially crown officers and royalists practised every art to separate New York from the general union. The city of New York, unlike Boston, was a corporation with a mayor of the king's appointment. There the president of the chartered college taught that "Christians are required to be subject to the higher powers; that an apostle enjoined submission to Nero;" that the friends of the American congress were as certainly guilty of "an unpardonable crime as that St. Paul and St. Peter were inspired men." There the Episcopal clergy fomented a distrust of the New England people, as "rebellious republicans, harebrained fanatics; intolerant towards the church of England, Quakers, and Baptists; doubly intolerant towards the Germans and Dutch." There a corrupt influence grew out of contracts for the army. There

the timid were incessantly alarmed by stories that "the undisciplined men of America could not withstand a disciplined army;" that "Canadians and unnumbered tribes of savages might be let loose upon them;" and that, in case of war, "the Americans must be treated as vanquished rebels." The assembly of New York, which had been chosen six years before during a momentary prejudice against lawyers and Presbyterians, had been carefully continued. New York, too, was the seat of a royal government, which dispensed commissions, offices, and grants of land, gathered round its little court a social circle to which loyalty gave the tone, and had for more than eight years craftily conducted the administration with the design to lull discontent. It permitted the assembly to employ Edmund Burke as its agent. In the name of the ministry, it lavished promises of favor and indulgence; extended the boundaries of the province at the north to the Connecticut River; and, contrary to the sense of right of Lord Dartmouth, supported the claims of New York speculators to Vermont lands against the populous villages which had grown up under grants from the king's governor of New Hampshire. Both Tryon and Colden professed, moreover, a sincere desire to take part with the colony in obtaining a redress of all grievances and an improvement of its constitution; and Dartmouth was made to express the hope "of a happy accommodation upon some general constitutional plan." Such a union with the parent state, the New York committee declared to be the object of their earnest solicitude; even Jay "held nothing in greater abhorrence than the malignant charge of aspiring after independence." "If you find the complaints of your constituents to be well grounded," said Colden to the New York assembly in January, "pursue the means of redress which the constitution has pointed out. Supplicate the throne, and our most gracious sovereign will hear and relieve you with paternal tenderness."

In this manner the chain of union was to be broken, and the ministry to win over at least one colony to a separate negotiation. The royalists were so persuaded of the suc-

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cess of their scheme that Gage, who had a little before written for at least twenty thousand men, sent word to the secretary, in January, that, "if a respectable force is seen in the field, the most obnoxious of the leaders seized, and a pardon proclaimed for all others, government will come off victorious, and with less opposition than was expected a few months ago."

^{1775.}
Jan. 26. On the twenty-sixth of January, the patriot Abraham Ten Broeck, of the New York assembly, moved to take into consideration the proceedings of the continental congress; but, though he was ably seconded by Nathaniel Woodhull, by Philip Schuyler, by George Clinton, and by the larger number of the members who were of Dutch descent, the vote was lost by a majority of one. Of the eleven who composed the majority, eight had been of that committee of correspondence who, in their circular letter to the other colonies, had advised a congress; and Jauncey, a member of the committee of fifty-one, had been present when their letter of May, in favor of a congress, was unanimously approved.

The assembly, now in its seventh year, had long since ceased to represent the people; yet the friends to government plumed themselves on this victory, saying openly: "No one among gentlemen dares to support the proceedings of congress;" and Colden exclaimed: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace." "That one vote was worth a million sterling," said Garnier to Rochford with an air of patronage, on hearing the news; while he explained to Vergennes that the vote was to the ministry worth nothing at all, that New York was sure to act with the rest of the continent.

The royalists hoped for a combined expression of opinion in the central states. In January, the Quakers of Pennsylvania published an epistle, declaring that the kingdom of Jesus Christ is not of this world, and that they would religiously observe the rule not to fight; and the meeting of the Friends of Pennsylvania and New Jersey gave their "testimony against every usurpation of power and authority in opposition to the laws of government." But the

legislature of Pennsylvania had, in December, unreservedly approved the proceedings of the continental congress, and to the next congress in May elected seven delegates, of whom Galloway, resisting the urgency of Dickinson, refused to serve. In the popular convention of the same province, Joseph Reed, its president, publicly and privately opposed taking steps towards arming and disciplining the province, and from general disinclination the measure was laid aside; but the members pledged their constituents at every hazard to defend the rights and liberties of America, and, if necessary, to resist force by force. They also recommended domestic manufactures, and led the way to a law "prohibiting the future importation of slaves."

"Do not give up," wrote the town of Monmouth in New Jersey to the Bostonians; "and, if you should want any further supply of bread, let us know." On the twenty-fourth of January, the assembly of that colony, without a dissenting voice, adopted the measures of the last general congress, and elected delegates to the next. Three weeks later, it was persuaded, like New York, to transmit a separate petition to the king; but its petition enumerated the American grievances without abatement.

The assembly of New York would neither print letters of the committee of correspondence, nor vote thanks to the New York delegates to the congress, nor express satisfaction that the merchants and inhabitants of the province adhered to the continental association. On the twenty-third of February, it was moved to send ^{1775.} _{Feb. 23} delegates to the general congress in May. Strenuous debates arose, Schuyler and Clinton speaking several times on the one side, Brush and Wilkins very earnestly on the other; but the motion was defeated by a vote of nine to seventeen.

The vote proved nothing but how far prejudice, corruption, pride, and attachment to party could make a legislative body false to its constituents. The people of New York were thrown back upon themselves, under circumstances of difficulty that had no parallel in other colonies. They had no legally constituted body to form their rallying point;

and, at a time when the continental congress refused to sanction any revolutionary act even in Massachusetts, they were compelled to proceed exclusively by the methods of revolution. Massachusetts was sustained by its elective council and its annually elected assembly; New York had a council holding office at the king's will, and an assembly continued in existence from year to year by the king's prerogative. Yet the colony was sure to emerge from all these obstacles; and its first legitimate organ was the press.

Charles Lee denied the military capacity of England, as she could with difficulty enlist recruits enough to keep her regiments full; and, contrary to his real opinion, he insisted that in a few months efficient infantry might be formed of Americans.

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Feb. A pamphlet from the pen of Alexander Hamilton had been in circulation since December; in February, when the necessity of the appeal to the people was become more and more urgent, the genial pilgrim from the south again put forth all his ability, with a determined interest in the coming struggle, as if he had sprung from the soil whose rights he defended. Strong in the sincerity of his convictions, he addressed the judgment, not the passions, aiming not at brilliancy of expression, but justness of thought, severe in youthful earnestness. "I lament," wrote Hamilton, "the unnatural quarrel between the parent state and the colonies; and most ardently wish for a speedy reconciliation, a perpetual and mutually beneficial union. I am a warm advocate for limited monarchy, and an unfeigned well-wisher to the present royal family; but, on the other hand, I am inviolably attached to the essential rights of mankind, to the true interests of society, to civil liberty as the greatest of terrestrial blessings."

"You are quarrelling for threepence a pound on tea, an atom on the shoulders of a giant," said the tories; and he answered: "The parliament claims a right to tax us in all cases whatever; its late acts are in virtue of that claim; it is the principle against which we contend."

"You should have had recourse to remonstrance and petition," said the time-servers. "In the infancy of the

present dispute," rejoined Hamilton, "we addressed the throne; our address was treated with contempt and neglect. The first American congress in 1765 did the same, and met with similar treatment. The exigency of the times requires vigorous remedies; we have no resource but in a restriction of our trade, or in a resistance by arms."

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"But Great Britain," it was said, "will enforce her claims by fire and sword. The Americans are without fortresses, without discipline, without military stores, without money, and cannot keep an army in the field; nor can troops be disciplined without regular pay and government by an unquestioned legal authority. A large number of armed men might be got together near Boston, but in a week they would be obliged to disperse to avoid starving." "The courage of Americans," replied Hamilton, "has been proved. The troops Great Britain could send against us would be but few; our superiority in number would balance our inferiority in discipline. It would be hard, if not impracticable, to subjugate us by force. An armament sufficient to enslave America will put her to an insupportable expense. She would be laid open to foreign enemies. Ruin like a deluge would pour in from every quarter."

"Great Britain," it was said, "will seek to bring us to a compliance by putting a stop to our whole trade." "We can live without trade," answered Hamilton; "food and clothing we have within ourselves. With due cultivation, the southern colonies, in a couple of years, would afford cotton enough to clothe the whole continent. Our climate produces wool, flax, and hemp. The silkworm answers as well here as in any part of the world. If manufactures should once be established, they will pave the way still more to the future grandeur and glory of America, and will render it still securer against encroachments of tyranny."

"You will raise the resentment of the united inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland," objected his adversaries. "They are our friends," said he; "they know how dangerous to their liberties the loss of ours must be. The Irish will sympathize with us and commend our conduct."

The tories built confidently upon disunion among the

colonies. "A little time," replied Hamilton, "will awaken them from their slumbers. I please myself with the flattering prospect that they will, ere long, unite in one indissoluble chain."

It was a common argument among the royalists of those days, that there were no immutable principles of political science; that government was the creature of civil society, and therefore that an established government was not to be resisted. To this the young philosopher answered rightly: "The Supreme Intelligence, who rules the world, has constituted an eternal law, which is obligatory upon all mankind, prior to any human institution whatever. He gave existence to man, together with the means of preserving and beautifying that existence; and invested him with an inviolable right to pursue liberty and personal safety. Natural liberty is a gift of the Creator to the whole human race. Civil liberty is only natural liberty, modified and secured by the sanctions of civil society. It is not dependent on human caprice; but it is conformable to the constitution of man, as well as necessary to the well-being of society."

"The colony of New York," continued his antagonists, "is subject to the supreme legislative authority of Great Britain." "I deny that we are dependent on the legislature of Great Britain," he answered; and he fortified his denial by an elaborate discussion of colonial history and charters.

It was retorted that New York had no charter. "The sacred rights of mankind," he rejoined, "are not to be rummaged for among old parchments or musty records. They are written, as with a sunbeam, in the whole volume of human nature by the hand of the divinity itself; and can never be erased or obscured by mortal power. Civil liberty cannot be wrested from any people without the most manifold violation of justice and the most aggravated guilt. The nations Turkey, Russia, France, Spain, and all other despotic kingdoms in the world, have an inherent right, whenever they please, to shake off the yoke of servitude, though sanctioned by immemorial usage, and to model their government upon the principles of civil liberty."

So reasoned the gifted West Indian, as one who had power to see the divine archetype of freedom. The waves of turbulent opinion dashed around him against the obstacles to their course ; New York, which made him her son by adoption, still desired a constitutional union embracing Great Britain and America, but was resolved, at all events, to make common cause with the continent.

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CHAPTER XX.

PARLIAMENT DECLARES MASSACHUSETTS IN REBELLION.

JANUARY 23—FEBRUARY 9, 1775.

THE confidence of the ministry reposed more and more on the central provinces, and Dartmouth took for
1775. granted the peaceful settlement of every question ;
Jan. yet six sloops of war and two frigates were under orders for America, and it was ostentatiously heralded that seven hundred marines from England, and three regiments of infantry with one of light-horse from Ireland, making a re-enforcement of two thousand four hundred and eighteen men, were to be prepared for embarkation ; “less to act hostilely against the Americans, than to encourage the friends of government.”

In the house of commons, the various petitions in behalf of America, including those from London and Bristol, were consigned to a committee of oblivion, and ridiculed as already “dead in law.” Hayley, of London, rebuked the levity of the house. “The rejection of the petitions of the trading interests,” said he, on the twenty-sixth of January, “must drive on a civil war with America.” “The Americans,” argued Jenkinson, “ought to submit to every act of the English legislature.” “England,” said Burke, “is like the archer that saw his own child in the hands of the adversary, against whom he was going to draw his bow.” Fox charged upon North that the country was on the point of being involved in a civil war by his incapacity. North complained : “The gentleman blames all my administration ; yet he defended and supported much of it ; nor do I know how I have deserved his reproaches.” “I can tell the noble lord how,” cried Fox : “by every species of false-

hood and treachery." Sir George Saville asked that Franklin might be heard at the bar in support of the address of the American continental congress to the king; and, after a violent debate, the house, by the usual majority, refused even to receive Franklin's petition.

The ministry were self-willed and strangely confident. The demand of Gage for twenty thousand men was put aside with scorn. "The violences committed by those who have taken up arms in Massachusetts Bay," wrote Dartmouth, in the king's name, "have appeared to me as the acts of a rude rabble, without plan, without concert, and without conduct; and therefore I think that a smaller force now, if put to the test, would be able to encounter them. The first and essential step to be taken towards re-establishing government would be to arrest and imprison the principal actors and abettors in the provincial congress, whose proceedings appear in every light to be treason and rebellion. If means be devised to keep the measure secret until the moment of execution, it can hardly fail of success. Even if it cannot be accomplished without bloodshed, and should be a signal for hostilities, I must again repeat, that any efforts of the people, unprepared to en-
1775.
Feb.counter with a regular force, cannot be very formidable. The imprisonment of those who shall be made prisoners will prevent their doing any further mischief. The charter for the province of Massachusetts Bay empowers the governor to use and exercise the law martial in time of rebellion. The attorney and solicitor general report that the facts stated in the papers you have transmitted are the history of an actual and open rebellion in that province, and therefore the exercise of that power upon your own discretion is strictly justifiable."

"The minister must recede," wrote Garnier to Vergennes, "or lose America for ever." "Your chief dependence," such were Franklin's words to Massachusetts, "must be on your own virtue and unanimity, which, under God, will bring you through all difficulties."

There was no hope in England but from Chatham, who lost not a moment in his endeavor to prevent a civil war

before it should be inevitably fixed ; saying, " God's will be done, and let the old and new world be my judge." On the first day of February, he presented his plan for " true reconciliation and national accord." It was founded substantially on the proposal of the American congress ; parliament was to repeal the statutes complained of, and to renounce the power of taxation : America in turn was to recognise its right of regulating the commerce of the whole empire, and by the free grants of her own assemblies was to defray the expenses of her governments. This was the true meaning of his motion, though clauses were added to make it less unpalatable to the pride of the British legislature. Franklin was persuaded that he sincerely wished to satisfy the Americans ; Jefferson, on reading the bill, hoped that it might bring on a reconciliation ; but Samuel Adams, who saw danger lurking under even a conditional recognition of the supremacy of parliament, said : " Let us take care, lest, instead of a thorn in the foot, we have a dagger in the heart."

No sooner had Chatham concisely invited the assistance of the house in adapting his crude materials to the great end of an honorable and permanent adjustment, than Dartmouth spoke of the magnitude of the subject, and asked his consent that the bill should lie on the table for consideration. ^{1775.} " I expect nothing more," was the ready answer. ^{Feb.} At this concession, Sandwich, speaking for the majority in the cabinet, grew petulant. " The proposed measure," he said, " deserves only contempt, and ought to be immediately rejected. I can never believe it to be the production of any British peer. It appears to me rather the work of some American ;" and looking at Franklin, who stood leaning on the bar, " I fancy," he continued, " I have in my eye the person who drew it up, one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies this country has ever known."

The peers turned towards the American, when Chatham retorted : " The plan is entirely my own ; but if I were the first minister, and had the care of settling this momentous business, I should not be ashamed of publicly calling to my assistance a person so perfectly acquainted with the whole

of American affairs; one whom all Europe ranks with our Boyles and Newtons, as an honor not to the English nation only, but to human nature."

Overawed by the temper of the house, Dartmouth, with his wonted weakness, which made him execute the worst measures even when he seemed inclined to the best, wheeled round against his own candor, and declared for rejecting the plan immediately. This Gower demanded; this even Grafton advised.

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Perceiving the unalterable purpose of the ministry, Chatham poured upon them a torrent of invective. "This bill," said he, "though rejected here, will make its way to the public, to the nation, to the remotest wilds of America; and, however faulty or defective, it will at least manifest how zealous I have been to avert those storms which seem ready to burst on my country. Yet I am not surprised that men who hate liberty should detest those that prize it; or that those who want virtue themselves should persecute those who possess it. The whole of your political conduct has been one continued series of weakness and temerity, despotism and the most notorious servility, incapacity and corruption. I must allow you one merit, a strict attention to your own interests: in that view, who can wonder that you should put a negative on any measure which must deprive you of your places, and reduce you to that insignificance for which God and nature designed you?"

Lord Chatham's bill, though on so important a subject, offered by so great a statesman, and supported by most able and learned speakers, was resisted by ignorance, prejudice, and passion, by misconceptions and wilful perversion of plain truth, and was rejected on the first reading by a vote of sixty-one to thirty-two.

"Hereditary legislators!" thought Franklin. "There would be more propriety in having hereditary professors of mathematics! But the elected house of commons is no better, nor ever will be while the electors receive money for their votes, and pay money wherewith ministers may bribe their representatives when chosen." Yet the wilfulness of the lords was happy for America; for Chatham's

proposition contained clauses to which it never could safely have assented, and yet breathed a spirit which must have calmed its resentment, distracted its councils, and palsied its will.

The number and weight of the minority should have led the ministers to pause ; yet they rushed on with headlong indiscretion, thinking to subdue the Americans by fear. The first step towards inspiring terror was to declare Massachusetts in a state of rebellion, and to pledge the parliament and the whole force of Great Britain to its reduction ; the next, by prohibiting the American fisheries, to starve New England ; the next, to call out the savages on the rear

of the colonies ; the next, to excite a servile insurrection. Accordingly, Lord North, on the day after

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Chatham's defeat, proposed to the commons a joint address to the king to declare that a rebellion existed in Massachusetts, and to pledge their lives and properties to its suppression.

"The colonies," said Dunning, "are not in a state of rebellion, but resisting the attempt to establish despotism in America, as a prelude to the same system in the mother country. Opposition to arbitrary measures is warranted by the constitution, and established by precedent." "Nothing but the display of vigor," said Thurlow, "will prevent the American colonies becoming independent states."

Grant, the same officer who had been scandalously beaten at Pittsburg, and had made himself so offensive in South Carolina, famous in his day for gluttony, asserted, amidst the loudest cheering, that he knew the Americans very well, and was sure they would not fight ; "that they were not soldiers and never could be made so, being naturally pusillanimous and incapable of discipline ; that a very slight force would be more than sufficient for their complete reduction ;" and he mimicked their peculiar expressions, and ridiculed their religious enthusiasm, manners, and ways of living, greatly to the entertainment of the house.

At this stage, Fox, displaying for the first time the full extent of his abilities, which made him for more than a quarter of a century the leading debater on the side of the

liberal party in England, entered into the history of the dispute with great force and temper, and stated truly that "the reason why the colonies objected to taxes for revenue was, that such revenue in the hands of government took out of the hands of the people to be governed the control which every Englishman thinks he ought to have over the government to which his rights and interests are intrusted." The defence of the ministry rested chiefly on Wedderburn. Gibbon had prepared himself to speak, but neither he nor Germain could find room for a single word.

Again Lord North hesitated; and Franklin, whose mediation was once more solicited, received a paper containing the results of ministerial conferences on "the hints" which he had written. "We desire nothing but what is necessary to our security and well-being," said Franklin to the friendly agents who came to him. They declared, by authority, that the repeal of the tea act and the Boston port act would be conceded; the Quebec act might be amended by reducing the province to its ancient limits; but the Massachusetts acts must be continued, both "as real amendments" of the constitution of that province, and "as a standing example of the power of parliament." Franklin's reply was brief: "While parliament claims the right of altering American constitutions at pleasure, there can be no agreement, for we are rendered unsafe in every privilege." "An agreement is necessary for America," it was answered; "it is so easy for Britain to burn all your seaport towns." "My little property," rejoined Franklin, "consists of houses in those towns; make bonfires of them whenever you please; the fear of losing them will never alter my resolution to resist to the last the claim of parliament."

When on the sixth of February the address was reported to the house, Lord John Cavendish earnestly "deprecated civil war, necessarily involving a foreign one also." "A fit and proper resistance," said Wilkes, "is a 1775.
Feb. 7. revolution, not a rebellion. Who can tell whether, in consequence of this day's violent and mad address, the scabbard may not be thrown away by the Americans as well as by us; and, should success attend them, whether, in

a few years, the Americans may not celebrate the glorious era of the revolution of 1775 as we do that of 1688? Success crowned the generous effort of our forefathers for freedom; else they had died on the scaffold as traitors and rebels, and the period of our history which does us the most honor would have been deemed a rebellion against lawful authority, not the expulsion of a tyrant."

During the debate, which lasted till half past two in the morning, Lord North threw off the responsibility of the tax on tea, in order to prepare the way for offering the repeal of that tax as the basis for conciliation. It was too late; for a new question of the power of parliament over charters and laws had intervened. The disavowal offended his colleagues, and in itself was not honest; his vote in the cabinet had decided the measure, and it was unworthy of a minister of the crown to intimate that he had obsequiously followed a chief like Grafton, or yielded his judgment to the king.

Lord George Germain was fitly selected to deliver the message of the commons at the bar of the lords. "There is in the address one paragraph which I totally dis-
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^{Feb. 7.} claim," said Rockingham; "I openly declare I will risk neither life nor fortune in support of the measures recommended. Four fifths of the nation are opposed to this address; for myself, I shall not tread in the steps of my noble but ill-fated ancestor, Lord Strafford, who first courted popular favor, and then deserted the cause he had embarked in; as I have set out by supporting the cause of the people, so I shall never, for any temptation whatsoever, desert or betray them."

Mansfield, as if in concert with North, took the occasion to deny having advised the tea-tax; and he condemned it as the most absurd measure that could be imagined. "The original cause of the dispute," said Camden, "is the duty on tea," in which he too disclaimed having had the least hand. "It is mean," said Grafton, "for him at this time to screen himself, and shift the blame off his own shoulders, to lay it on those of others. The measure was consented to in the cabinet. He acquiesced in it; he presided in the

house of lords when it passed through its several stages; and he should equally share its censure or its merit."

A passionate debate ensued, during which Mansfield praised the Boston port act and its attendant measures, including the regulating act for Massachusetts, as worthy to be gloried in for their wisdom, policy, and equity; but he denied that they were in any degree the fruit of his influence. Now as they were founded on his legal opinions, and as he had often in the house of lords been the mouth-piece of Hutchinson, whose reports reached him through Mauduit, Shelburne insinuated that Mansfield's disclaimer was in substance not correct. Mansfield retorted by charging Shelburne with uttering gross falsehoods; and Shelburne in a rejoinder gave the illustrious jurist the lie.

On Thursday the ninth of February, the lord ^{1775.} chancellor, the speaker, and a majority of the lords ^{Feb. 9.} and commons went in state to the palace, and, in the presence of the representatives of the great powers of Europe, presented to George III. their joint sanguinary address. The king, in his reply, pledged himself speedily and effectually to enforce "obedience to the laws and the authority of the supreme legislature." His heart was hardened. Having just heard of the seizure of ammunition at the fort in New Hampshire, he intended that his language should "open the eyes of the deluded Americans." "If it does not," said he to his faltering minister, "it must set every delicate man at liberty to avow the propriety of the most coercive measures."

CHAPTER XXI.

THE SPIRIT OF NEW ENGLAND.

FEBRUARY, 1775.

ON the day on which the king received the address of parliament, the members of the second provincial congress of Massachusetts, about two hundred and fourteen in number, appointed eleven men as their committee of safety, charged to resist every attempt at executing the acts of parliament. For this purpose they were empowered to take possession of the warlike stores of the province, to make returns of the militia and minute men, and to muster so many of the militia as they should judge necessary. General officers were appointed to command the force that should be so assembled. First of those who accepted the trust was Artemas Ward, a soldier of some experience in the French war. Next him as brigadier stood Seth Pomeroy, the still older veteran, who had served at the siege of Louisburg.

“Resistance to tyranny,” thus the congress addressed the inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay, “becomes the Christian and social duty of each individual. Fleets, troops, and every implement of war are sent into the province, to wrest from you that freedom which it is your duty, even at the risk of your lives, to hand inviolate to posterity. Continue steadfast, and, with a proper sense of your dependence on God, nobly defend those rights which Heaven gave, and no man ought to take from us.”

These true representatives of the inhabitants of Massachusetts came together tremulous with emotion, yet resolved never to swerve from duty. They were frugal even to parsimony, making the scantest appropriations ever thought

of by a nation threatened with war; yet they held their property and their blood of less account than liberty. They were startled at the lightest rustling of impending danger; but they could not be moved from their deep-seated purpose, and no more trembled than the granite rock which seems to quiver with the flickering shadow of every drifting cloud. "Life and liberty shall go together," was their language. "Our existence as a free people absolutely depends on our acting with spirit and vigor," said Joseph Warren; and he wished England to know that the Americans had courage enough to fight for their freedom. "The people," said Samuel Adams, "will defend their liberties with dignity. One regular attempt to subdue this or any other colony, whatever may be the first issue of the attempt, will open a quarrel which will never be closed, till what some of them affect to apprehend, and we truly deprecate, shall take effect."

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The second provincial congress before its adjournment appointed a committee to draw up in the recess rules and regulations for the constitutional army. They declined to levy taxes in form; but they recommended the inhabitants to pay all their province tax to a treasurer of their appointment. They re-elected their old delegates to congress. They forbade work or supplies for the English troops; "for," said they, "we may be driven to the hard necessity of taking up arms in our own defence." They urged one of their committees to prepare military stores, and directed reviews of every company of minute men. Aware of the design of the ministry to secure the Canadians and Indians, they authorized communications with the province of Quebec through the committee of correspondence of Boston. A delegation from Connecticut was received, and measures were concerted for corresponding with that and all the other colonies. After appointing a day of fasting, enjoining the colony to beware of a surprise, and recommending military discipline, they closed a session of sixteen days.

The spies of Gage found the people everywhere intent on military exercises, or listening to confident speeches from their officers, or learning from the clergy to esteem them-

selves as of the tribe of Judah. "Behold," said one of the ministers at a very full review of the militia, "God himself is with us for our captain, and his priests with sounding trumpets to cry alarm. O children of Israel," thus he rebuked the English, "fight ye not against the Lord God of your fathers; for ye shall not prosper."

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On these bustling preparations of men who had no artillery, very few muskets with bayonets, and no treasury, the loyalists looked with derision; never doubting that the power of Great Britain would trample down, repress, and overwhelm every movement of insurrection. To crush the spirit of resistance by a cowardly panic, Daniel Leonard, of Taunton, speaking for them all, held up the spectres of "high treason," "actual rebellion," and "anarchy." He ran through the history of the strife; argued that it was reasonable for America to share in the national burden as in the national benefit; that there was no oppressive exercise of the power of parliament; that the tax of threepence on tea was no tyranny, since a duty of a shilling, imposed as a regulation of trade, had just been taken off; that the bounties paid in England on American produce exceeded the American revenue more than fourfold; that no grievance was felt or seen; that, in the universal prosperity, the merchants in the colonies were rich, the yeomanry affluent, the humblest able to gain an estate; that the population doubled in twenty-five years, building cities in the wilderness, and interspersing schools and colleges through the continent; that the country abounded with infallible marks of opulence and freedom; that even James Otis had admitted the authority of parliament over the colonies, and had proved the necessity and duty of obedience to its acts; that resistance to parliament by force would be treason; that rebels would deservedly be cut down like grass before the scythe of the mower, while the gibbet and the scaffold would make away with those whom the sword should spare; that Great Britain was resolved to maintain the power of parliament, and was able to do so; that the colonies south of Pennsylvania had barely men enough to govern their numerous slaves, and defend themselves against the Indians; that the northern

colonies had no military stores, nor money to procure them, nor discipline, nor subordination, nor generals capable of opposing officers bred to arms; that five thousand British troops would prevail against fifty thousand Americans; that the British navy on the first day of war would be master of their trade, fisheries, navigation, and maritime towns; that the Canadians and savages would prey upon the back settlements, so that a regular army could devastate the land like a whirlwind; that the colonies never would unite, and New England, perhaps even Massachusetts, would be left to fall alone; that even in Massachusetts thousands among the men of property, and others, would flock to the royal standard, while the province would be drenched in the blood of rebels.

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The appeal of Leonard was read with triumph by the Tories. But John Adams, kindling with indignation at his dastardly menaces, entered the lists as the champion of American freedom; employing the fruits of his long study of the British law, the constitution, and of natural right, to vindicate the true sentiments of New England:

“My friends, human nature itself is evermore an advocate for liberty. The people can understand and feel the difference between true and false, right and wrong, virtue and vice. To the sense of this difference the friends of mankind appeal.

“That all men by nature are equal; that kings have but a delegated authority, which the people may resume, are the revolution principles of 1688; are the principles of Aristotle and Plato, of Livy and Cicero, of Sydney, Harrington, and Locke, of nature and eternal reason.

“The people are in their nature so gentle that there never was a government in which thousands of mistakes were not overlooked. Not ingratitude to their rulers, but much love is their constant fault. Popular leaders never could for any length of time persuade a large people that they were wronged, unless they really were so. They have acted on the defensive from first to last; are still struggling at the expense of their ease, health, peace, wealth, and preferment, and, like the Prince of Orange, resolve never to

see their country in entire subjection to arbitrary power, but rather to die fighting against it in the last ditch.

“Nor can the people be losers in the end. Should they be unsuccessful, they can but be slaves, as they would have been, had they not resisted; if they die, death is better than slavery; if they succeed, their gains are immense, for they preserve their liberties. Without the resistance of the Romans to Tarquin, would the Roman orators, poets, and historians, the great teachers of humanity, the delight and glory of mankind, ever have existed? Did not the

Swiss cantons gain by resistance to Albert and Gessler? Did not the seven United Provinces gain by resistance to Philip, Alva, and Granvelle? Did not the English gain by resistance to John when Magna Charta was obtained? by resistance to Charles I.? to James II.?

“To the scheme of having a revenue in America by authority of parliament, the active, sagacious, and very able Franklin, the eminent philosopher, the distinguished patriot, in the administration of the busy, intriguing, enterprising Shirley, sent an answer in writing which exhausted the subject.

“If the parliament of Great Britain had all the natural foundations of authority, wisdom, goodness, justice, power, would not an unlimited subjection of three millions of people to that parliament, at three thousand miles distance, be real slavery? But, when both electors and elected are become corrupt, you would be the most abject of slaves to the worst of masters. The minister and his advocates call resistance to acts of parliament treason and rebellion. But the people are not to be intimidated by hard words; they know that in the opinion of all the colonies parliament has no authority over them excepting to regulate their trade, and this merely by consent.

“All America is united in sentiment. When a masterly statesman, to whom she has erected a statue in her heart for his integrity, fortitude, and perseverance in her cause, invented a committee of correspondence in Boston, did not every colony, nay every county, city, hundred, and town upon the whole continent, adopt the measure, as if it had

been a revelation from above? Look over the resolves of the colonies for the past year; you will see that one understanding governs, one heart animates the whole.

“The congress at Philadelphia have assured us that, if force attempts to carry the late innovating measures against us, all America ought to support us. Maryland and Delaware have taken the powers of the militia into the hands of the people, and established it by their own authority for the defence of Massachusetts. Virginia and the Carolinas are preparing. The unanimity in congress can hardly be paralleled. The mighty questions of the Revolution of 1688 were determined in the convention of parliament by small majorities of two or three, and four or five only; the almost unanimity in your assemblies, and especially in the continental congress, are providential dispensations in our favor, the clearest demonstration of the cordial, firm, radical, and indissoluble union of the colonies.

“If Great Britain were united, she could not subdue a country a thousand leagues off. How many years, how many millions, did it take to conquer the poor province of Canada, which yet would never have submitted but on a capitulation, securing religion and property? But Great Britain is not united against us. Millions in England and Scotland think it unrighteous, impolitic, and ruinous to make war upon us; and a minister, though he may have a marble heart, will proceed with a desponding spirit. London has bound her members under their hands to assist us; Bristol has chosen two known friends of America; many of the most virtuous of the nobility and gentry are for us, and among them a St. Asaph, a Camden, and a Chatham, the best bishop that adorns the bench, as great a judge as the nation can boast, and the greatest statesman it ever saw.

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“I would ask by what law the parliament has authority over America? By the law in the Old and New Testament it has none; by the law of nature and nations it has none; by the common law of England it has none; by statute law it has none; for no statute for this purpose was made before the settlement of the colonies, and the declaratory act

of 1766 was made without our consent by a parliament which had no authority beyond the four seas.

“The subordination of Ireland is founded on conquest and consent. But America never was conquered by Britain. She never consented to be a state dependent upon the British parliament. What religious, moral, or political obligations, then, are we under to submit to parliament as supreme? None at all. If Great Britain will resort to force, all Europe will pronounce her a tyrant, and America never will submit to her, be the danger of disobedience as great as it will.

“If Great Britain has protected the colonies, all the profits of our trade centred in her lap. If she has been a nursing mother to us, we have, as nursed children commonly do, been very fond of her, and rewarded her all along tenfold for all her care.

“We New England men do not derive our laws from parliament, nor from common law, but from the law of nature and the compact made with the king in our charters. If our charters could be forfeited, and were actually forfeited, the only consequence would be that the king would have no power over us at all. The connection would be broken between the crown and the natives of this country. The charter of London in an arbitrary reign was decreed forfeited; the charter of Massachusetts was declared forfeited also. But no American charter will ever be decreed forfeited again; or, if any should, the decree will be regarded no more than a vote of the lower house of the Robinhood society. God forbid the privileges of millions of Americans should depend upon the discretion of a lord chancellor. It may as well be pretended that the people of Great Britain can forfeit their privileges, as the people of this province. If the contract of state is broken, the people and king of England must recur to nature. It is the same in this province. We shall never more submit to decrees in chancery, or acts of parliament, annihilating charters or ‘abridging English liberties.’

“Should the nation suffer the minister to persevere in his madness and send fire and sword against us, we have

men enough to defend ourselves. The colonies south of Pennsylvania have a back country, inhabited by a hardy, robust people, many of whom are emigrants from New England, and habituated, like multitudes of New England men, to carry their rifles on one shoulder to defend themselves against the savages, while they carry their axes, scythes, and hoes upon the other. We have manufacturers of fire-arms; powder has been made here; nor could the whole British navy prevent the importation of arms and ammunition. The new-fangled militia will have the discipline and subordination of regular troops. A navy might burn a seaport town, but will the minister be nearer his mark? At present we hold the power of the Canadians as nothing; their dispositions, moreover, are not unfriendly to us. The savages will be more likely to be our friends than our enemies.

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“The two characteristics of this people, religion and humanity, are strongly marked in all their proceedings. We are not exciting a rebellion. Resistance by arms against usurpation and lawless violence is not rebellion by the law of God or the land. Resistance to lawful authority makes rebellion. Hampden, Russell, Sydney, Holt, Somers, Tillotson, were no rebels. If an act of parliament is null and void, it is lawful to resist it.

“This people, under great trials and dangers, have discovered great abilities and virtues, and that nothing is so terrible to them as the loss of their liberties. They act for America and posterity. If there is no possible medium between absolute independence and subjection to the authority of parliament, all North America are convinced of their independence, and determined to defend it at all hazards.”

CHAPTER XXII.

HAS NEW ENGLAND A RIGHT IN THE NEWFOUNDLAND
FISHERIES?

FEBRUARY, 1775.

ON the tenth of February, after the speaker reported to the house of commons the answer to their address, ^{1775.} Lord North presented a message from the king, ask-
^{Feb.} ing the required "augmentation to his forces." The minister, who still clung to the hope of reducing Massachusetts by the terrors of legislation, next proposed to restrain the commerce of New England and exclude its fishermen from the Banks of Newfoundland. The best ship-builders in the world were at Boston, and their yards had been closed; the New England fishermen were now to be restrained from a toil in which they excelled all nations. Thus the joint right to the fisheries was made a part of the American struggle.

"God and nature," said Johnston, "have given that fishery to New England and not to Old." Dunning defended the right of the Americans to fish on the Banks. "If rebellion is resistance to government," said Sir George Saville, "it must sometimes be justifiable. May not a people, taxed without their consent and their petitions against such taxation rejected, their charters taken away without a hearing, and an army let loose upon them without a possibility of obtaining justice, be said to be in justifiable rebellion?" But the ministerial measure, which, by keeping the New England fishermen at home, provoked discontent and provided recruits for an insurgent army, was carried through all its stages by great majorities. Bishop Newton, in the lords, reasoned "that rebellion is the sin of witchcraft, and

that one so unnatural as that of New England could be ascribed to nothing less than diabolical infatuation."

The minister of France took the occasion to request the most rigorous and precise orders to all British naval officers not to annoy the commerce of the French colonies. "Such orders," answered Rochford, "have been given; and we have the greatest desire to live with you on the best understanding and the most perfect friendship." A letter from Lord Stormont, the British ambassador at Paris, was also cited in the house of lords to prove that France equally wished a continuance of peace. "It signifies nothing," said Richmond; "you can put no trust in Gallic faith, except so long as it shall be their interest to keep their word." With this, Rochford, the secretary of state, readily agreed; proving, however, from Raynal's History of the Two Indies, that it was not for the interest of France that the English colonies should throw off the yoke. The next courier took to the king of France the report that neither the opposition nor the British minister put faith in his sincerity; and the inference seemed justified that they themselves were insincere.

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The English mind was in the process of change. The destruction of the tea at Boston had been condemned as a lawless riot, for which the pride of the nation demanded an expiation. But the proposal to enter upon a civil war with a view to enforce for parliament a power of taxation which it could never render effective, or a mutilation of a charter to which the public was indifferent, was received by merchants, tradesmen, and the majority of the people with abhorrence. Lord North himself would gladly have escaped from his embarrassments by concession. "I am a friend to holding out the olive branch," wrote the king to his pliant minister, "yet I believe that, when once vigorous measures appear to be the only means, the colonies will submit. I shall never look to the right or to the left, but steadily pursue that track which my conscience dictates to be the right one." The preparations for war were, therefore, to proceed; but he consented that the commanders of the naval and military forces might be invested with com-

missions for the restoration of peace according to a measure to be proposed by Lord North. From Franklin, whose aid in the scheme was earnestly desired, the minister once more sought to learn the least amount of concession that could be accepted.

No sooner was Franklin consulted, than he expressed his approbation of the proposed commission, and of Lord Howe as one of its members ; and, to smooth the way to conciliation, he offered the payment of an indemnity to the India company, provided the Massachusetts acts should be repealed. "Without the entire repeal," said he, "the language of the proposal is, try on your fetters first, and then, if you don't like them, we will consider." On the eighteenth of February, Franklin, by appointment, once more saw Lord Howe. "Consent," said the latter, "to accompany me, and co-operate with me in the great work of reconciliation ;" and he coupled his request with a promise of ample appointments and subsequent rewards. "Accepting favors," said the American, "would destroy the influence you propose to use ; but let me see the propositions, and, if I approve of them, I will hold myself ready to accompany you at an hour's warning." His opinions, which he had purposely reduced to writing and signed with his own hand,

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were communicated to Lord Howe, and through him to Lord North, as his last words ; and they were these : "The Massachusetts must suffer all the hazards and mischiefs of war, rather than admit the alteration of their charter and laws by parliament. They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

The minister was disheartened, dreading the conflict with America, yet feebly resisting his colleagues. Franklin was informed, on the twentieth, that his principles and those of parliament were as yet too wide from each other for discussion ; and, on the same day, Lord North, armed with the king's consent in writing, proposed in the house of commons a plan of conciliation formed on the principle that parliament, if the colonies would tax themselves to its satisfaction, would impose on them no duties except for

the regulation of commerce. A storm of opposition ensued, which Lord North could not quell; and for two hours he seemed in a minority. "The plan should have been signed by John Hancock and Otis," said Rigby. Welbore Ellis, and others, particularly young Acland, declared ^{1775.} Feb. 12. against him loudly and roughly. "Whether any colony will come in on these terms I know not," said Lord North; "but it is just and humane to give them the option. If one consents, a link of the great chain is broken. If not, it will convince men of justice and humanity at home that in America they mean to throw off all dependence." Jenkinson reminded the house that Lord North stood on ground chosen by Grenville; but the Bedford party none the less threatened to vote against the minister, till Sir Gilbert Elliot, the well-known friend of the king, came to his rescue, and secured for the motion a large majority.

Lord North must have fallen, but for the active interposition of the king. Yet his system of conciliation and that of Chatham were essentially in contrast with each other. Chatham denied the right of parliament to tax; North asserted it: Chatham asked free grants from deliberative assemblies in the full exercise of the right to judge of their ability to give; North put chains on the colonies, and invited them one by one to make a bid, each for its separate ransom: Chatham proposed to repeal the Massachusetts acts; North was silent about them. To recover his lost ground with the extreme supporters of authority, North joined with Suffolk and Rochford in publishing "a paper declaring his intention to make no concessions."

The army in Boston was to be raised to ten thousand men, and the general to be superseded on account of his incapacity to direct such a force. "If fifty thousand men and twenty millions of money," said David Hume, "were intrusted to such a lukewarm coward as Gage, they never could produce any effect." Amherst declined the service, unless the army should be raised to twenty thousand men; the appointment of William Howe was therefore made public. He possessed no one quality of a great general, and he was selected for his name. On receiving the offer of the

command, "Is it a proposition," he asked, "or an order from the king?" and when told an order, he replied it was his duty to obey it. "You should have refused to go against this people," cried the voters of Nottingham, with whom he had broken faith. "Your brother died there in the cause of freedom; they have shown their gratitude to your name and family by erecting a monument to him." "If you go," said many of them, "we hope you may fall." "We cannot wish success to the undertaking," said many more. "My going thither," wrote Howe in apology, ^{1775.} "is not my seeking. I was ordered, and could not _{Feb.} refuse. Private feelings ought to give way to the service of the public. There are many loyal and peaceable subjects in America; the insurgents are very few in comparison. When they find they are not supported in their frantic ideas by the more moderate, they will, from fear of punishment, subside to the laws. This country must now fix the foundation of its stability with America by procuring a lasting obedience."

At the same time, Lord Howe, the admiral, was announced as commander of the naval forces and pacificator; for it was pretended that the olive branch and the sword were to be sent together.

Of the two major-generals who attended Howe, the first in rank was Henry Clinton, son of a former governor in New York, related to the families of Newcastle and Bedford, and connected by party with the ministry. The other was John Burgoyne, who in the last war served in Portugal with spirit, and was brave even to rashness. He had a talent for description and vivid narrative, and wrote comedies that pleased in their day. He made a figure in parliament, where he was taken for an opponent of the ministry; but he had spoken and voted against the repeal of the tax on tea, and had pronounced the Americans "children spoiled by too much indulgence;" so that, without flagrant inconsistency, he could promise Lord North "to be his steady, zealous, and active supporter."

Before embarking for America, he made a formal avowal of his principles and his zeal. "I am confident," said he,

in the house of commons, "there is not an officer or soldier in the king's service who does not think the parliamentary right of Great Britain a cause to fight for, to bleed and die for." The assertion was extravagant; many of the best would not willingly bear arms against their kindred in America.

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In reply to Burgoyne, Henry Temple Luttrell, whom curiosity once led to travel many hundreds of miles along the flourishing and hospitable provinces of the continent, bore testimony to their temperance, urbanity, and spirit, and predicted that, if set to the proof, they would evince the magnanimity of republican Rome. He saw in the aspect of infant America features which at maturer years denoted a most colossal force. "Switzerland and the Netherlands," he reminded the house, "demonstrate what extraordinary obstacles a small band of insurgents may surmount in the cause of liberty."

While providing for a re-enforcement to its army, England enjoined the strictest watchfulness on its consuls and agents in every part of Europe, to intercept all munitions of war destined for the colonies. To check the formation of magazines on the Dutch island of St. Eustatius, which was the resort of New England mariners, the British envoy, with dictatorial menaces, required the states-general of Holland to forbid their subjects from so much as transporting military stores to the West Indies, beyond the absolute wants of their own colonies. Of the French government, preventive measures were requested in the most courteous words.

Meantime, an English vessel had set sail immediately to convey to the colonies news of Lord North's proposal, in the confident belief that, under the mediation of a numerous army, provinces which neither had the materials for war, nor the means of obtaining them, would be divided by the mere hint of giving up the point of taxation. "The plan," said Chatham, "will be spurned; and every thing but justice and reason prove vain to men like the Americans." "It is impossible," said Fox, "to use the same resolution to make the Americans believe their government

will give up the right of taxing, and the mother country that it will be maintained."

Franklin sent advice to Massachusetts by no means to begin war without the approval of the continental congress, unless on a sudden emergency; "but New England alone," said he, "can hold out for ages against this country, and, if they are firm and united, in seven years will win the day." "By wisdom and courage, the colonies will find friends everywhere;" thus he wrote to James Bowdoin of Boston, as if predicting a French alliance. "The eyes of all Christendom are now upon us, and our honor as a people is become a matter of the utmost consequence. If we tamely

1775.
Feb. give up our rights in this contest, a century to come will not restore us in the opinion of the world; we shall be stamped with the character of dastards, poltroons, and fools; and be despised and trampled upon, not by this haughty, insolent nation only, but by all mankind. Present inconveniences are therefore to be borne with fortitude, and better times expected."

"Every negotiation which shall proceed from the present administration," wrote Garnier to Vergennes, "will be without success in the colonies. Will the king of England lose America rather than change his ministry? Time must solve the problem; if I am well informed, the submission of the Americans is not to be expected."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE BOSTON MASSACRE.

FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1775.

THE French minister judged rightly ; the less discerning English government was deceived by men who had undertaken to secure New York to the crown, if their intrigues could be supported by a small military force.

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But the friends of the British system in that colony were not numerous, and were found only on the surface. The Dutch Americans formed the basis of the population, and were in a special manner animated by the glorious example of their fathers, who had proved to the world that a small people under great discouragements can found a republic. The story of their strife with Spain, their successful daring, their heroism during their long war for freedom, was repeated on the banks of the Hudson and the Mohawk. It was remembered, too, that England herself owed her great revolution, the renovation of her own political system, to Holland. How hard, then, that the superior power which had been the fruit of that restoration should be employed to impair the privileges of colonists of Dutch descent ! By temperament moderate but inflexible, little noticed by the government, they kept themselves noiselessly in reserve ; but their patriotism was inflamed and guided by the dearest recollections of their nationality. Many of the Anglo-Americans of New York were from New England, whose excitement they shared ; and the mechanics of the city were almost to a man enthusiasts for decisive measures. The landed aristocracy

was divided; but the Dutch and the Presbyterians, especially Schuyler of Albany, and the aged Livingston of Rhinebeck, never hesitated to risk their vast estates in the cause of inherited freedom. The latter had once thought of emigrating to Switzerland, if he could nowhere else escape oppression. In no colony did English dominion find less of the sympathy of the people than in New York.

In Virginia, the Blue Ridge answered British menaces with defiance. "We cannot part with liberty but with our lives," said the inhabitants of Botetourt. "Our duty to God, our country, ourselves, and our posterity, all forbid it. We stand prepared for every contingency." The dwellers on the waters of the Shenandoah, meeting at Staunton, commended the Virginia delegates to the applause of succeeding ages, their example to the hearts of every Virginian and every American. "For my part," said Adam Stephen, "before I would submit my life, liberty, and property to the arbitrary disposal of a venal aristocracy, I would sit myself down with a few friends upon some rich and healthy spot, six hundred miles to the westward, and there form a settlement which in a short time would command attention and respect."

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Feb.

The valleys of Kentucky laughed as they heard the distant tread of clustering troops of adventurers, who, under a grant from the Cherokees, prepared to take possession of the meadows and undulating table land that nature has clothed with its richest grasses. Their views extended to planting companies of honest farmers, and erecting iron works, a salt manufactory, grist-mills, and saw-mills; and the culture of the rich region was to be fostered by premiums for the heaviest crop of corn, and for the emigrant who should drive out the greatest number of sheep. The men who are now to occupy "that most desirable territory" will never turn back, but, as we shall see, will carry American independence to the Wabash, the Detroit, and the Mississippi.

At Charleston, South Carolina, the association was punctually enforced. A ship-load of near three hundred slaves was sent out of the colony by the consignee; even house-

hold furniture and horses, though they had been in use in England, could not be landed; and, on the twenty-fifth, the cargo of the "Charming Sally" was thrown into Hog Island Creek.

The winter at Boston was the mildest ever known; and in this "the gracious interposition of Heaven was recognised." All the towns in Massachusetts, nearly all in New England, and all the colonies ministered to the wants of Boston. Some relief came even from England. "Call me an enthusiast," said Samuel Adams; "this union among the colonies and warmth of affection can be attributed to nothing less than the agency of the Supreme Being. If we believe that he superintends and directs the affairs of empires, we have reason to expect the restoration and establishment of the public liberties."

On Sunday the twenty-sixth of February, two or three hundred soldiers, under the command of Leslie, sailed from Castle William, landed clandestinely at Marblehead, and hurried to Salem in quest of military stores. Not finding them there, the officer marched towards Danvers; but at the river he found the bridge drawn up, and was kept waiting for an hour and a half, whilst the stores, insignificant in amount, were removed to a place of safety. Then, having pledged his honor not to advance more than thirty yards on the other side, he was allowed to march his troops across the bridge. The alarm spread through the neighborhood; but Leslie hastily retraced his steps, and re-embarked at Marblehead.

At this time, the British ministry received news of the vote in the New York assembly, refusing to consider the resolutions of congress. The confidence of the king reached its climax; and he spared no pains to win the colony. In an ostensible letter from the secretary of state, New York was praised for its attempts towards a reconciliation with the mother country; in a private letter, Dartmouth enjoined upon Colden to exert his address to facilitate the acceptance of Lord North's conciliatory resolutions. Like directions were sent to the governors of every colony except Connecticut and Rhode Island.

1775.
March.

How complete was the general confidence that the great majorities in parliament would overawe the colonies, ^{1775.} appeared on Monday the sixth of March, when the ^{Mar. 6.} bill depriving New England of her fisheries was to be engrossed. Even Lord Howe advocated it as the means of bringing the disobedient provinces to a sense of their duty, without involving the empire in a civil war. "Now," replied Fox, "as by this act all means of acquiring a livelihood, or of receiving provisions, is cut off, no alternative is left but starving or rebellion. If the act should not produce universal acquiescence, I defy anybody to defend the policy of it. Yet America will not submit. New York only differs in the modes." "The act," said Dundas, the solicitor-general of Scotland, "is just, because provoked by the most criminal disobedience; is merciful, because that disobedience would have justified the severest military execution. As to the famine, which is so pathetically lamented, I am afraid it will not be produced by this act. When it is said no alternative is left to them but to starve or rebel, this is not the fact; for there is another way, to submit." The king, on receiving an account of "the languor of opposition" during the debate, was convinced the line adopted in American affairs would be crowned with success."

These words fell from George III. on the day on which Boston commemorated the "massacre" of its citizens. The orator was Joseph Warren, who understood the delusion of the king, and resolved to prove that "the Americans would make the last appeal rather than submit to the yoke prepared for their necks; that their patience had no alloy of cowardice." The commemoration was a public affront to Gage, both as general of the army and as governor of the province; for the subject of the oration was the baleful effects of standing armies in time of peace; and it was to be delivered to the town in a town-meeting, contrary to an act of parliament which he came to Boston to enforce. In the crowd which thronged to the Old South meeting-house appeared about forty British officers of the army and navy; these Samuel Adams, the moderator, received with studied courtesy, placing them all near the orator, some of them on

the platform above the pulpit stairs. There they sat conspicuously, and listened to a vivid picture of the night of the massacre, after which Warren proceeded :

“ Our streets are again filled with armed men, our harbor is crowded with ships-of-war ; but these cannot 1775. Mar. 6. intimidate us ; our liberty must be preserved ; it is far dearer than life ; we hold it dear as our allegiance ; we cannot suffer even Britons to ravish it from us. Should America be brought into vassalage, Britain must lose her freedom also ; her liberty, as well as ours, will eventually be preserved by the virtue of America. The attempt of parliament to raise a revenue from America, and our denial of their right to do it, have excited an almost universal inquiry into the rights of British subjects and of mankind. The malice of the Boston port bill has been defeated in a very considerable degree, by benefactions in this and our sister colonies ; and the sympathetic feelings for a brother in distress, and the grateful emotions of him who finds relief, must for ever endear each to the other, and form those indissoluble bonds of friendship on which the preservation of our rights so evidently depends. The mutilation of our charter has made every other colony jealous for its own. Even the sending troops to put these acts in execution is not without advantages to us. The exactness and beauty of their discipline inspire our youth with ardor in the pursuit of military knowledge. Charles the Invincible taught Peter the Great the art of war ; the battle of Pultowa convinced Charles of the proficiency Peter had made.

“ Our country is in danger. Our enemies are numerous and powerful ; but we have many friends, and, determining to be free, Heaven and earth will aid the resolution. You are to decide the important question, on which rests the happiness and liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves. The faltering tongue of hoary age calls on you to support your country. The lisping infant raises its suppliant hands, imploring defence against the monster slavery. Your fathers look from their celestial seats with smiling approbation on their sons, who boldly stand forth in the cause of virtue.

"My fellow-citizens, I know you want not zeal or fortitude. You will maintain your rights or perish in the generous struggle. However difficult the combat, you will never decline it, when freedom is the prize. An independence of Great Britain is not our aim. No, our wish is that Britain and the colonies may, like the oak and the ivy, grow and increase together. But if these pacific measures are ineffectual, and it appears that the only way to safety is through fields of blood, I know you will not turn your faces from your foes, but will undauntedly press forward, until tyranny is trodden under foot."

The officers of the army and navy who heard the oration gave no offence during its delivery; but, at the motion for "appointing an orator for the ensuing year to commemorate the horrid massacre," they began to hiss. The assembly, greatly exasperated, threatened vengeance for the insult; but Adams, with imperturbable calmness, restored order; the vote was taken, and the business of the meeting was regularly concluded.

The event maddened the army, so that both officers and soldiers longed for revenge. An honest countryman from Billerica, inquiring for a firelock, was offered an old one by a private; but as soon as he had bought it he was seized for having violated an act of parliament against trading with soldiers, and confined during the night in the guard-room. The next day he was tarred and feathered, labelled on the back, "American liberty, or a specimen of democracy," and carted through the principal streets of the town, accompanied by a guard of twenty men with fixed bayonets; by a mob of officers, among whom was Lieutenant-colonel Nesbit himself; and by all the drums and fifes of the forty-seventh, playing Yankee Doodle.

"See what indignities we suffer rather than precipitate a crisis," wrote Samuel Adams to Virginia. The soldiers seemed encouraged to provoke the people, that they might have some color for beginning hostilities.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PUBLIC OPINION IN ENGLAND.

MARCH, 1775.

DURING this angry strife between the citizens and soldiers at Boston, Lord Howe at London broke off negotiations with Franklin, and the ministry used the pen of Samuel Johnson to inflame the public mind. ^{1775. March.}

Johnson was a poor man's son, and had himself tasted the bitter cup of extreme indigence. His father, from whom he inherited "the vile melancholy that made him mad all his life, at least not sober," left no more than twenty pounds. To bury his mother and pay her little debts, he had composed *Rasselas*. For years he had gained a precarious support as an author. He had paced the streets of London all night long, from not having where to lay his head; he had escaped a prison for a trifle he owed by begging an alms of Richardson, had broken his bread with poverty, and had known what it is from sheer want to go without a dinner, through all his sufferings preserving a rugged independence. The name of the retired and uncourtly scholar was venerable wherever the English was spoken, by his full display of that language in a dictionary, written amidst inconvenience and distraction, in sickness, sorrow, and gloomy solitude, with little assistance of the learned and no patronage of the great. When better days came, he loved the poor as few else love them; and he nursed in his house whole nests of the lame, the blind, the sick, and the sorrowful. He could breathe "a sigh of tenderness" from sympathy with a friend, and repaid with a sincere sentiment of gratitude the "kindness which soothed twenty years of a life radically wretched." A man who was so sensitive by na-

ture, who had thus sturdily battled with social evils, and was so keenly touched by the wretchedness of the down-trodden, deserved to have been able to feel the wrongs of a kindred people; but he refused to do so. Having, from antipathy to the whig party then in power, defined the word pension as "pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country," he was himself become a pensioner; and at the age of threescore and six, with small hire, like a bravo who loves his trade, he set about the task of his work-masters, which was congenial to his obstinate temper, his hate of the Puritans, and his life-long political creed. In a tract, which he called "Taxation no Tyranny," he echoed to the crowd the haughty rancor, which passed down from the king and his court, to his council, to the ministers, to the aristocracy, their parasites and followers, with nothing remarkable in his party zeal but the intensity of its bitterness, or in his manner but its unparalleled insolence, or in his argument but its grotesque extravagance.

The Bostonians had declared to the general congress their willingness to resign their opulent town, and wander into the country as exiles. "Alas!" retorted Johnson, "the heroes of Boston will only leave good houses to wiser men." To the complaints of their liability to be carried out of their country for trial, he answered: "We advise them not to offend." When it was urged that they were condemned unheard, he asserted: "There is no need of a trial; no man desires to hear that which he has already seen."

Franklin had remained in Great Britain for no reason but to promote conciliation; and with an implacable malice, which was set off by a ponderous effort at mirth, Johnson pointed at him as the "master of mischief, teaching congress to put in motion the engine of political electricity, and to give the great stroke by the name of Boston."

Did the Americans claim a right of resistance, "Audacious defiance!" cried Johnson; "acrimonious malignity! The indignation of the English is like that of the Scythians, who, returning from war, found themselves excluded from their own houses by their slaves."

Virginia and the Carolinas had shown impatience of oppression. "How is it," asked Johnson, "that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes? The slaves should be set free; they may be more grateful and honest than their masters."

Lord North inclined to mercy: "Nothing," said the moralist, "can be more noxious to society than clemency which exacts no forfeiture;" and he proposed ^{1775.} to arm the savage Indians, turn out the British soldiers on free quarters among the Americans, remodel all their charters, and take away their political privileges. March.

Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, had insisted that the Americans complained only of innovations. "We do not put a calf into the plough," said Johnson, "we wait till he is an ox." This, however, the ministry bade him erase, not for its ribaldry, but as unwilling to concede that the calf had been spared; and Johnson obeyed, comparing himself to a mechanic for whom "the employer is to decide." Was he told that the Americans were increasing in numbers, wealth, and love of freedom, he answered: "This talk, that they multiply with the fecundity of their own rattlesnakes, disposes men accustomed to think themselves masters to hasten the experiment of binding obstinacy before it is become yet more obdurate." He mocked at the rule of progression, which showed that America must one day exceed Europe in population. "Then," said he in derision, "in a century and a quarter let the princes of the earth tremble in their palaces."

Johnson united great powers with low prejudices, bigotry, and childish superstition. Had he been more truly a man of genius, he would have escaped in his old age the misfortune of aiming at freedom the feeble shaft which was meant to carry ruin. He wanted that highest rule of morality, which has its seat in the soul, and does service for freedom and for man; his name is never breathed as a watchword, his writings never thrill as oracles.

The pure-minded man, who in a sensual age became the quickener of religious fervor, the preacher to the poor, John Wesley, also came forward to defend the system of

the court with the usual arguments. He looked so steadily towards the world beyond the skies, that he could not brook the interruption of devout gratitude by bloody contests in this stage of being. Besides, he saw that the rupture between the English and the Americans was growing wider every day, and to him the total defection of America was the evident prelude of a conspiracy against monarchy, of which the bare thought made him shudder. "No governments under heaven," said he, "are so despotic as the republican; no subjects are governed in so arbitrary a manner as those of a commonwealth. The people never but once in all history gave the sovereign power, and that was to Masaniello of Naples. Our sins will never be removed, till we fear God and honor the king." Wesley's mental constitution was not robust enough to gaze on the future with unblenched calm. He could not foresee that the constellation of republics, so soon to rise in the wilds of America, would welcome the members of the society which he was to found as the pioneers of religion; that the breath of liberty would waft their messages to the masses of the people; would encourage them to collect the white and the negro, slave and master, in the greenwood, for counsel on divine love and the full assurance of grace; and would carry their consolation and songs and prayers to the furthest cabins in the wilderness. To the gladdest of glad tidings for the political regeneration of the world, Wesley listened with timid trembling, as to the fearful bursting of the floodgates of revolution; and he knew not that God was doing a work which should lead the nations of the earth to joy.

1775.

Mar. 16. In the house of lords, Camden, on the sixteenth of March, took the occasion of the motion to commit the bill depriving New England of the fisheries to reply not to ministers only, but to their pensioned apologist, in a speech which was admired in England and gained applause of Vergennes. He justified the union of the Americans, and refuted the suggestion that New York was or could be detached from it. By the extent of America, the numbers of its people, their solid, firm, and indissoluble agreement

on the great basis of liberty and justice, and the want of men and money on the part of England, he proved that England could not but fail in her attempt at coercion, and that the ultimate independence of America was inevitable. "Suppose the colonies do abound in men," replied Sandwich; "they are raw, undisciplined, and cowardly. I wish, instead of forty or fifty thousand of these brave fellows, they would produce in the field at least two hundred thousand; the more the better; the easier would be the conquest. At the siege of Louisburg, Sir Peter Warren found what egregious cowards they were. Believe me, my lords, the very sound of a cannon would send them off as fast as their feet could carry them." He then abused the Americans for not paying their debts, and ascribed their associations to a desire to defraud their creditors. The restraint on trade and the fisheries was extended by a separate bill to the middle states except New York, and to South Carolina, with constant assurances that the Americans would not fight. It is memorable that, when on the twenty-first the debate was renewed and the bill passed, both Rockingham and Shelburne, the heads of the old whigs, and the new, inserted in their protest against the act that "the people of New England are especially entitled to the fisheries."

Franklin, as he heard the insinuations of Sandwich against the honesty of his countrymen, turned on his heel in wrath; no part was left him but to go home where duty called him. The French minister, who revered his supreme ability, sought with him one last interview. "I spoke to him," wrote Garnier to Vergennes, "of the part which our president Jeannin had taken in establishing the independence and forming the government of the United Provinces;" and the citation of the precedent cheered him as a prediction. "But then," subjoined Garnier, "they have neither a marine, nor allies, nor a Prince of Orange."

For some hours of the nineteenth, his last day in ^{1775.} London, he was, in company with Priestley, engaged ^{Mar. 19.} in looking over a number of American newspapers, directing him what to extract from them for the English ones; and in reading them he was frequently not able to proceed

for the tears literally running down his cheeks. A large part of the same day Franklin spent with Edmund Burke; and, however much he may have been soured and exasperated by wrongs and insults to himself and his country, he still regarded its approaching independence as an event which gave him the greatest concern. He called up the happy days of America under the protection of England; he said "that the British empire was the only instance of a great empire in which the most distant members had been as well governed as the metropolis; but then," reasoned he, "the Americans are going to lose the means which secured to them this rare and precious advantage. The question with them is, not whether they are to remain as they were before the troubles, for better they could not hope to be; but whether they are to give up so happy a situation without a struggle. I lament the separation between Great Britain and her colonies; but it is inevitable."

So parted the great champion of the British aristocracy and the man of the people. When will an age again furnish minds like theirs? Burke revered Franklin to the last, foretold the steady brightening of his fame, and drew from his integrity the pleasing hope of ultimate peace.

^{1775.}
^{Mar. 20.} The next morning, Franklin posted to Portsmouth; and, before his departure from London was known, he had embarked for Philadelphia. "Had I been the master," said Hutchinson, "his embarkation would have been prevented." "With his superiority," said Garnier, "and with the confidence of the Americans, he will cut out work enough for the ministers who have persecuted him." Vergennes felt assured he would spread the conviction that the British ministry had irrevocably chosen its part, and that America had no choice but independence.

With personal friends, with merchants, with manufacturers, with the liberal statesmen of England, with supporters of the ministry, Franklin had labored on all occasions earnestly, disinterestedly, and long. On his disappearance from the scene, the last gleam of a compromise vanished. The administration and their followers called him insincere. They insisted on believing, to the last, that he had private

instructions which would have justified him in accepting the regulating act for Massachusetts, and they attributed his answers to an inflexible and subtle hostility to England. But nothing deceives like jealousy; he perseveringly endeavored to open the eyes of the king and his servants. At the bar of the house of commons he first revealed his conviction that persistence in taxation would compel independence; it was for the use of the government that once to Strahan and then to Lord Howe he explained the American question with frankness and precision. The British ministry overreached themselves by not believing him. "Speaking the truth to them in sincerity," said Franklin, "was my only finesse."

In his intercourse with the British government, he contemplated the course of events as calmly as he would have watched a process of nature. His judgment was quick and infallible; his communications prompt, precise, and unequivocal; his frankness perfect. He never shunned responsibility, and never assumed too much. His single breast contained the spirit of his nation; and in every instance his answers to the ministry and their emissaries were those which the voice of America would have dictated, could he have taken her counsel. In him is discerned no deficiency and no excess. Full of feeling, even to passion, he observed, and reasoned, and spoke serenely. Of all men, he was a friend to peace; but the terrors of a sanguinary civil war did not confuse his perceptions or impair his decision. Neither Chatham, nor Rockingham, nor Burke, blamed Franklin for renouncing allegiance; and we shall see Fox once more claim his friendship, and Shelburne and the younger Pitt rest upon him with the confidence which he deserved. He went home to the work of independence, and, through independence, of peace.

He was sailing out of the British channel with a fair wind and a smooth sea, when on the twenty-^{1775.}second of March, on occasion of the bill prohibiting ^{Mar. 22.} New England from the fisheries, Edmund Burke, for the vindication of his party, brought forward in the house of commons resolutions for conciliation. Beyond all others,

he had asserted the right of parliament to tax America; and he could not wholly justify its uprising. He ^{1775.} _{Mar. 22.} began, therefore, with censuring parliament for its many inconsistencies in its legislation on the subject; and then entered upon a splendid eulogy of the colonies, whose rapid growth from families to communities, from villages to nations, attended by a commerce, great out of all proportion to their numbers, had added to England in a single life as much as England had been growing to in a series of seventeen hundred years.

“As to the wealth which the colonies have drawn from the sea by their fisheries,” he continued, speaking specially of the bill then in its last stage before the house, “you had all that matter fully opened at your bar. And pray, sir, what in the world is equal to it? Pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on the whale fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest frozen recesses of Hudson’s Bay and Davis’s Straits, whilst we are looking for them beneath the arctic circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor is the equinoctial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both the poles. We know that, whilst some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude, and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries. No climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hard industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people; a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood. When I contem-

plate these things ; when I know that the colonies in general owe little or nothing to any care of ours, and that they are not squeezed into this happy form by the constraints of watchful and suspicious government, but that, through a wise and salutary neglect, a generous nature has been suffered to take her own way to perfection ; when I reflect upon these effects, when I see how profitable ^{1775.} they have been to us, I feel all the pride of power sink, and all presumption in the wisdom of human contrivances melt and die away within me. My rigor relents. I pardon something to the spirit of liberty. Mar. 22.

“ From six capital sources : of descent ; of form of government ; of religion in the northern provinces ; of manners in the southern ; of education ; of the remoteness of situation from the first mover of government ; from all these causes a fierce spirit of liberty has grown up. It looks to me to be narrow and pedantic to prosecute that spirit as criminal ; to apply the ordinary ideas of criminal justice to this great public contest. I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people.

“ My idea, therefore, without considering whether we yield as matter of right, or grant as matter of favor, is to admit the people of our colonies into an interest in the constitution. I, for one, protest against compounding our demands ; I declare against compounding for a poor limited sum the immense, ever growing, eternal debt which is due to generous government from protected freedom. And so may I speed in the great object I propose to you, as I think it would not only be an act of injustice, but would be the worst economy in the world, to compel the colonies to a sum certain, either in the way of ransom or in the way of compulsory compact. A revenue from America ! You never can receive it, no, not a shilling. For all service, whether of revenue, trade, or empire, my trust is in her interest in the British constitution. My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron. Let the colonies always

keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government, they will cling and grapple to you; and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government may be one thing and their privileges another, that these two things may exist without any mutual relation, the cement is gone, the cohesion is loosened, and every thing hastens to decay and dissolution. As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have; the more ardently they love liberty, the more perfect will be their obedience. Slavery they can have anywhere. It is a weed that grows in every soil. But, until you become lost to all feeling of your true interest and your natural dignity, freedom they can have from none but you. This is the commodity of price, of which you have the monopoly. This is the true act of navigation, which binds to you the commerce of the colonies, and through them secures to you the wealth of the world. Deny them this participation of freedom, and you break the unity of the empire. It is the spirit of the English constitution, ^{1775.} which, infused through the mighty mass, pervades, _{Mar. 22.} feeds, unites, invigorates, vivifies every part of the empire, even down to the minutest member. Is it not the same virtue which does every thing for us here in England?

“All this, I know well enough, will sound wild and chimerical to the profane herd of those vulgar and mechanical politicians, who think that nothing exists but what is gross and material; and who, therefore, far from being qualified to be directors of the great movement of empire, are not fit to turn a wheel in the machine. But, to men truly initiated and rightly taught, these ruling and master principles, which, in the opinion of such men as I have mentioned, have no substantial existence, are in truth every thing, and all in all. Magnanimity in politics is not seldom

the truest wisdom ; and a great empire and little minds go ill together. If we are conscious of our situation, and glow with zeal to fill our places as becomes our station and ourselves, we ought to auspicate all our public proceedings on America with the old warning of the church : **LIFT UP YOUR HEARTS !** We ought to elevate our minds to the greatness of that trust to which the order of Providence has called us. By adverting to the dignity of this high calling, our ancestors have turned a savage wilderness into a glorious empire ; and have made the most extensive and the only honorable conquests, not by destroying, but by promoting the wealth, the number, the happiness of the human race."

For three hours, Burke was heard with attention ; but, after a reply by Jenkinson, his deep wisdom was ^{1775.} scoffed away by a vote of more than three to one. ^{Mar. 22.} It was the moment of greatest depression to the friends of liberty in England ; their efforts in parliament only exposed their want of power. Ministers anticipated as little resistance in the colonies.

CHAPTER XXV.

VIRGINIA PREPARES FOR SELF-DEFENCE.

MARCH—APRIL, 1775.

At the north, a state was preparing to rise through anarchy into self-existence, peace, and order. The court of common pleas was to be opened by the royal judges in what was called the New York county of Cumberland, at Westminster, in the New Hampshire Grants, on the eastern side of the Green Mountains. To prevent this assertion of the jurisdiction of New York and of the authority of the king, a body of young men from the neighboring farms on the thirteenth of March took possession of the court house. The royal sheriff, who, against the wish of the judges, had raised sixty men armed with guns and bludgeons, demanded possession of the building; and after reading the riot act, and refusing to concede terms, late in the night ordered his party to fire. In this way he made his entry by force, having mortally wounded William French, of Brattleborough, and Daniel Houghton, of Dummerston. The rash act closed the supremacy of the king and of New York to the east of Lake Champlain. Armed men poured in from towns in the Grants and from the borders of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, till their number reached five hundred and they became irresistible. They instituted a jury of inquest, and the royalists implicated in the attack were sent to jail in Massachusetts for trial. They were soon released; but the story of what had happened was told from village to village, as a tale of tyranny and murder; and historians of Vermont keep alive the memory of those who fell as of the first martyrs in the contest with the king.

Just before this shedding of blood, Ethan Allen, already foreseeing war with Great Britain, engaged to Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut, that "the regiment of Green Mountain Boys would assist their American brethren;" and now John Brown, of Pittsfield, who had passed through the settlements on his way to Montreal, on the twenty-ninth wrote to Samuel Adams and Joseph Warren at Boston, that, "should hostilities be committed by the king's troops, the people on New Hampshire Grants would seize the fort at Ticonderoga; and they were the proper persons for the job."

The assembly of Delaware, which met on the day of ^{1775.} the shedding of blood in Vermont, approved the pro- ^{Mar. 13.} ceedings of the congress at Philadelphia; but, in re-electing their deputies, they avowed their most ardent wish for an accommodation with Great Britain, for which end they were willing to yield claims of right that were either doubtful or "not essentially necessary to their well-being;" and they disregarded the prayer of freemen of Kent county to adopt the resolution of Maryland and of Washington. The session was specially important from the instruction given to their deputies in congress, to urge decently but firmly the right of their province to a voice equal with any other province on this continent. For more than twelve years the little government of Delaware steadfastly maintained the right of each colony to an equal vote, and surrendered it at last only on a compromise. It now carried a bill prohibiting the importation of slaves; but the proprietary governor, constrained by the decision of the king in council, interposed his veto. In the neighboring county of Westchester, in Pennsylvania, a more thorough movement was made "for the manumission of slaves, especially of all infants born of black mothers within the colony." Could the bringing in of African bondsmen from abroad be for ever forbidden, the public opinion of Pennsylvania was ripe for putting an end to bondage.

Early in March, the governor of North Carolina, who had just returned from New York by land, reported to the secretary of state the result of his observations: "In Vir.

ginia, I found the heats among the people still more violent and universal, and the committees appointed under the prescription of the congress had proceeded in some places to the most arbitrary and unwarrantable exertions of power; the ferment there, I perceive, has in no sort abated, as I think the advertisement of Mr. Washington and others, that your lordship will find enclosed, plainly discovers." This advertisement of Washington consisted of the Fairfax resolves, to which he had set his name, and which were in this manner brought to the notice of the king. In his own government, Martin sought to neutralize the convention by holding simultaneously a regular meeting of the legislature; but, on the fifth of April, the convention of North Carolina, in which Richard Caswell was the most conspicuous member, unanimously adhered to the general congress, and re-elected their delegates with this comprehensive instruction: "They are hereby invested with such power as may make any act done by them, or any of them, or consent given in behalf of this province, obligatory in honor upon every inhabitant thereof." Yet the measures of North Carolina still looked to peace, and propositions to array an armed force were overruled.

1775.
March. From prejudice, habit, and affection, the members of the convention of Virginia, in which even the part of Augusta county west of the Alleghany mountains was represented, cherished the system of limited monarchy under which they had been born and educated in their land of liberty. They were accustomed to associate all ideas of security in their political rights with the dynasty of Hanover, and had never, even in thought, desired to renounce their allegiance. They loved to consider themselves an integral part of the great British empire. The distant life of landed proprietors in solitary mansion-houses favored independence of thought; but it also generated an aristocracy, which differed widely from the simplicity and equality of New England. Educated in the Anglican church, no religious zeal had imbued them with a fixed hatred of kingly power; no deep-seated antipathy to a distinction of ranks, no theoretic zeal for the introduction of a republic, no spec-

ulative fanaticism, drove them to a restless love of change. Though quick to resent aggression, they abhorred the experiment of making the last appeal, and changing their form of government by revolution without some absolute necessity.

Virginia was, moreover, unprepared for war. Its late expedition against the Shawnee Indians had left a debt of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds; its currency was of paper; and it had no efficient system of revenue. Its soil, especially in the low country, was cultivated by negro slaves, so that the laborers in the field could not furnish recruits for an army. Except a little powder in a magazine near Williamsburg, it was destitute of warlike stores; and it had no military defences. Of all the colonies, it was the most open to attack; the magnificent Bay of the Chesapeake and the deep water of the James, the York, the Potomac, and other rivers, bared it to invasions from the sea.

Such was the state of Virginia, when on the twentieth of March its second convention assembled at ^{1775.} Mar. 20. Richmond in the old church of St. John on the hill which overlooks the town. The proceedings of the continental congress and the conduct of the delegates of the colony were approved with perfect unanimity. On the twenty-third, the mediating interposition of the assembly of Jamaica was recognised as a proof of "their patriotic endeavors to fix the just claims of the colonists upon permanent constitutional principles;" and the convention of the Old Dominion renewed their assurances, "that it was the most ardent wish of their colony and of the whole continent of North America to see a speedy return of those halcyon days when they lived a free and happy people."

But, with all their love of peace under the government of the king, the imminence of danger drove them irresistibly to the Fairfax resolves, which Washington in January had come forward to announce, making the responsibility for them personally his own. The measure, couched in the very words to which he had set his name, was moved by Patrick Henry, with the natural consequences, "that this colony be immediately put into a posture of defence, and that a com-

mittee prepare a plan for the embodying, arming, and disciplining such a number of men as may be sufficient for that purpose." The resolution was opposed by Bland, Harrison, and Pendleton, three of the delegates of Virginia in congress, and by Nicholas, who had been among the most resolute in the preceding May. There was no array of party against party, but rather a conflict of feelings and opinions in every one's breast. The thought of an actual conflict in arms with England was new; conciliation was still hoped for from the sympathy of the friends of liberty in the parent country, the influence of the manufacturing interests, or the relenting of the sovereign. "Are we ready for war?" asked those who lingered on the way in the hope of reunion.

1775.
March. "Where are our stores, our soldiers, our generals, our money? We are defenceless; yet we talk of war against one of the most formidable nations in the world. It will be time enough to resort to measures of despair when every well-founded hope has vanished."

Henry replied in a speech of which no exact report has come down, but all tradition agrees that he dispelled the illusive hope of reconciliation; proving with all-persuasive eloquence that, if Americans would be free, they must fight! His transfigured features glowed as he spoke, and his words fell like a doom of fate. He was supported by Richard Henry Lee, who made an estimate of the force which Britain could employ against the colonies, and, after comparing it with their means of resistance, proclaimed that the auspices were good; adding that "Thrice is he armed, who hath his quarrel just!"

The resolutions were adopted. To give them effect, a committee, consisting of Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Washington, Jefferson, and others, in a few days reported a plan for forming in every county one or more volunteer companies and troops of horse, to be in constant training and readiness. Whatever doubts had been before expressed, the plan was unanimously accepted. Nicholas would even have desired the more energetic measure of organizing an army. The convention also voted to encourage the manufacture of woollen, cotton, and linen; of

gunpowder ; of salt, and iron, and steel ; and recommended to the inhabitants to use colonial manufactures in preference to all others. Before dissolving their body, they elected their former delegates to the general congress in May ; adding to the number Thomas Jefferson, “in case of the non-attendance of Peyton Randolph.”

To intimidate the Virginians, Dunmore issued various proclamations, and circulated a rumor that he would excite an insurrection of their slaves. He also sent a body of marines in the night preceding the twenty-first of April, to carry off the gunpowder stored at Williamsburg in the colony’s magazine. The party succeeded ; but, as soon as it was known, drums were sent through the city to alarm the inhabitants, the independent company arrayed itself in arms, the people assembled for consultation, and at their instance the mayor and corporation peremptorily demanded of the governor that the powder should be restored.

The governor at first answered evasively ; but, on hearing that the citizens had reassembled under arms, he abandoned himself to passion. “The whole country,” said he, “can easily be made a solitude ; and, by the living ^{1775.} God ! if any insult is offered to me, or those who have ^{Apr. 21.} obeyed my orders, I will declare freedom to the slaves, and lay the town in ashes.”

The offer of freedom to the negroes came very oddly from the representative of the nation which had sold them to their present masters, and of the king who had been displeased with Virginia for its desire to tolerate that inhuman traffic no longer ; and it was but a sad resource for a commercial metropolis to keep a hold on its colony by letting loose slaves against its own colonists.

The seizure of the powder startled Virginia. “This first public insult is not to be tamely submitted to,” wrote Hugh Mercer and others from Fredericksburg to Washington ; and they proposed, as a body of light-horsemen, to march to Williamsburg for the honor of Virginia. Gloucester county would have the powder restored. The Henrico committee would be content with nothing less. Bedford offered a premium for the manufacture of gunpowder. The in-

dependent company of Dumfries could be depended upon for any service which respected the liberties of America. The Albemarle volunteers "were ready to resent arbitrary power, or die in the attempt." "I expect the magistrates of Williamsburg, on their allegiance," such was Dunmore's message, "to stop the march of the people now on their way, before they enter this city; otherwise, it is my fixed purpose to arm all my own negroes, and receive and declare free all others that will come to me. I do enjoin the magistrates and all loyal subjects to repair to my assistance, or I shall consider the whole country in rebellion, and myself at liberty to annoy it by every possible means; and I shall not hesitate at reducing houses to ashes, and spreading devastation wherever I can reach." To the secretary of state he wrote: "With a small body of troops and arms, I could raise such a force from among Indians, negroes, and other persons, as would soon reduce the refractory people of this colony to obedience."

^{1775.}
^{Apr. 29.} On Saturday the twenty-ninth of April, there were at Fredericksburg upwards of six hundred well-armed men. A council of one hundred and two weighed the moderating advice received from Washington and Peyton Randolph, and they agreed to disperse; yet not till they had pledged to each other their lives and fortunes, to re-assemble at a moment's warning, and by force of arms to defend the laws, the liberty, and rights of Virginia, or any sister colony, from unjust and wicked invasion. Did they forebode that the message from a sister colony was already on the wing?

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE KING WAITS TO HEAR OF THE SUCCESS OF LORD
NORTH'S PROPOSITION.

APRIL—MAY, 1775.

ON the first day of April, the provincial congress of Massachusetts so far recognised the authority of Gage as to vote that, if he would issue writs in the usual form for the election of a general assembly, to be held on the last Wednesday in May, the towns ought to obey the precepts and elect members; otherwise, delegates should be chosen for a third provincial congress. On Sunday the second, two vessels arrived at Marblehead, with the tidings that both houses of parliament had pledged to the king their lives and fortunes for the reduction of America, that New England was prohibited from the fisheries, and that the army of Gage was to be largely re-enforced. The next morning, congress required the attendance of all absent members, and desired the towns not yet represented to send members without delay. 1775.
April.

"If America," wrote Joseph Warren on that day, "is an humble instrument of the salvation of Britain, it will give us the sincerest joy; but if Britain must lose her liberty, she must lose it alone. America must and will be free. The contest may be severe: the end will be glorious. United and prepared as we are, we have no reason to doubt of success, if we should be compelled to the last appeal; but we mean not to make that appeal until we can be justified in doing it in the sight of God and man. Happy shall we be, if the mother country will allow us the free enjoyment of our rights, and indulge us in the pleasing employment of aggrandizing her."

The most appalling danger proceeded from the Indians of the north-west, whom it was now known Canadian emissaries were seeking to influence. The hateful office
1775. fell naturally into the hands of La Corne, Hamilton
April. the lieutenant-governor for Detroit, and others, who were most ready to serve the bad passions of those from whom they expected favors. Guy Johnson was also carefully removing the American missionaries from the Six Nations.

Countervailing measures were required for immediate security. Dartmouth College, "a new and defenceless" institution of charity on the frontier, where children of the Six Nations received Christian training, was "threatened with an army of savages;" its president, Eleazer Wheelock, sent therefore, as the first envoy from New England, the young preacher James Dean, who was a great master of the language of the Iroquois, "to itinerate among the tribes in Canada, and brighten the chain of friendship."

To the Mohawks, whose ancient territory included the passes from Canada and the war-paths from the more remote western nations, the Massachusetts congress despatched the humane and thoughtful Kirkland, who had lived among them as a missionary; and who was now instructed to prevail with them either to take part with the Americans, or "at least to stand neuter, and not assist their enemies." To each of the converted Indians who were domiciled at Stockbridge, the congress voted a blanket and a ribbon as a testimony of affection, saying: "We are all brothers." The Stockbridge Indians, after deliberating in council for two days, promised to intercede with the Six Nations in behalf of the colonists among whom they dwelt.

The congress of Massachusetts adopted a code for its future army, and authorized the committee of safety to form six companies of artillery; yet they refused to take into pay any part of the militia or minute men. They enjoined every town to have its committee of correspondence; they ordered a day of fasting and prayer for the union of the American colonies and their direction to such measures as God would approve; they encouraged the poor

of Boston to move into the country; they sent special envoys to each of the other New England states to concert measures for raising an army of defence; and they urged "the militia and minute men" in the several towns to be on the alert. They forbade every act that could be interpreted as a commencement of hostilities; but they resolved unanimously that the militia might act on the defensive. If the forces of the colony should be called out, the members of the congress agreed to repair instantly to Concord. Then, on the fifteenth of April, they adjourned, expecting a long and desperate war with the mighty power of Great Britain, yet with no treasury but the good-will of the people; not a soldier in actual service; hardly ammunition enough for a parade day; as for artillery, having scarcely more than ten iron cannon, four of brass, and two colorns; with no executive but the committee of safety; no internal government but by committees of correspondence; no visible centre of authority; and no eminent general officer. Anarchy must prevail, unless there lives in the heart of the people an invisible, resistless, formative principle, that can organize and guide.

Gage, who himself had about three thousand effective men, learned through his spies the state of the country, and the ludicrously scanty amount of stores collected by the provincial committees at Worcester and Concord. The report increased his confidence as well as the insolence of his officers; and, as soon as the members of the congress had gone to their homes, he resolved on striking a blow, as the king desired.

On the tenth of April, the lord mayor, Wilkes, with the aldermen and livery of London, approached the ^{1775.} ^{Apr. 10.} throne, to complain to the king that the real purpose of his ministers, whom they earnestly besought him to dismiss, was "to establish arbitrary power over all America;" the king answered: "It is with the utmost astonishment that I find any of my subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which unhappily exists in some of my colonies;" and, by a letter from the lord chamberlain, he announced his purpose never again to receive on the throne

any address from the lord mayor and aldermen but in their corporate capacity.

If more troops were sent, the king's standard erected, and a few of the leaders taken up, Hutchinson was ready to stake his life for the submission of the colonies. Some of the ministry believed that they were getting more and more divided, and that there would be no great difficulty in bringing the contest to a conclusion. The sending of re-enforcements was treated as almost a matter of indifference.

To assist in disjoining the colonies, New York, North Carolina, and Georgia were excepted from restraints imposed on the trade and fisheries of all the rest. That North Carolina could be retained in obedience, through a part of its own people, was believed in England, on the authority of its governor. With the utmost secrecy, the king sent over Allan Maclean of Torloish, to entice to the royal standard the Highlanders of the old forty-seventh regiment, now settled in that province; at the very time when its convention, which met on the third of April, were expressing a perfect agreement with the general congress, and were heartily seconded by its assembly.

New York was the pivot of the policy of ministers. The defection of its assembly from the acts of the general congress was accepted as conclusive proof that the province would adhere to the king. But, if Rivington's gazette quoted texts of Scripture in favor of passive obedience,

Holt's paper replied by other texts and examples. ^{1775.} The New York merchants who furnished supplies to _{Apr. 15.} the British army at Boston were denounced at the liberty pole as enemies to the country. When Sears, who moved that every man should provide himself with four-and-twenty rounds, was carried before the mayor and refused to give bail, he was liberated on his way to prison; and with flying colors, a crowd of friends, and loud huzzas for him and for Macdougall, was conducted through Broadway to a meeting in the Fields. If the assembly, by a majority of four, refused to forbid importations, the press taunted them for taking gifts; and, when they would have

permitted a ship to discharge its cargo, the committee laughed at their vote and enforced the association. As they refused to choose delegates to another congress, a poll was taken throughout the city, and against one hundred and sixty-three there appeared eight hundred and twenty-five in favor of being represented. The rural counties co-operated with the city; and, on the twentieth of April, forty-one delegates met in convention; chose ^{1775.} Philip Livingston unanimously their president; re-_{Apr. 20.} elected all their old members to congress, except the lukewarm Isaac Low; and unanimously added five others, among them Philip Schuyler, George Clinton, and Robert R. Livingston; not to hasten a revolution, but to "concert measures for the preservation of American rights, and for the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the colonies."

This happened at a time when the king believed New York won over by immunities and benefactions, and the generals who were on the point of sailing were disputing for the command at that place. "Burgoyne would best manage a negotiation," said the king; but Howe would not resign his right to the post of confidence. Vergennes saw things just as they were; the British ministry, with a marvellous blindness that but for positive evidence would be incredible, thought it easy to subdue Massachusetts, and corrupt New York. On the fifteenth of April, letters were written to Gage to take possession of every colonial fort; to seize and secure all military stores of every kind, collected for the rebels; to arrest and imprison all such as should be thought to have committed treason; to repress rebellion by force; to make the public safety the first object of consideration; to substitute more coercive measures for ordinary forms of proceeding, without pausing "to require the aid of a civil magistrate." Thurlow and Wedderburn had given their opinion that the Massachusetts congress was a treasonable body; the power of pardon, which was now conferred on the general, did not extend to the president of "that seditious meeting," nor to "its most forward members," who, as unfit subjects for the king's mercy, were

to be brought "to condign punishment" either in America or in England.

While the king, through Lord Dartmouth, confidently issued these sanguinary instructions which a numerous army could hardly have enforced, four of the regiments, at first destined to Boston, received orders to proceed directly to New York, where their presence was to aid the progress of intrigue. At the same time, the "Senegal" carried out six packages, each containing a very large number of copies of "An Address of the People of Great Britain to the Inhabitants of America," written in the blandest terms by Sir John Dalrymple at Lord North's request, to co-operate with his conciliatory resolution.

1775.
April.

"The power of taxation over you," said the pamphleteer, "we desire to throw from us as unworthy of you to be subject to, and of us to possess. We wished to make the concession. From the late differences it is the fault of us both, if we do not derive future agreement by some great act of state. Let the colonies make the first advance; if not, parliament will do so by sending a commission to America. The first honor will belong to the party which shall first scorn punctilio in so noble a cause. We give up the disgraceful and odious privilege of taxing you. As to the judges dependent on the king's pleasure, if you suspect us, appoint your own judges, pay them your own salaries. If we are wrong in thinking your charters formed by accident, not by forethought, let them stand as they are. Continue to share the liberty of England. With such sentiments of kindness in our breasts, we cannot hear without the deepest concern a charge that a system has been formed to enslave you by means of parliament."

The mild and affectionate language of this pamphlet, composed for the ministers, printed at the public cost, and sent out by public authority to be widely distributed, formed a strange contrast to that written by Samuel Johnson for England, and clashed discordantly with the vengeful orders transmitted to Boston. Yet Lord North was false only as he was weak and uncertain. He really wished to concede and conciliate, but he had not force enough to come to a

clear understanding even with himself. When he encountered the opposition in the house of commons, he sustained his administration by speaking confidently for vigorous measures; when alone, his heart sank within him from dread of civil war.

The remonstrance and memorial of the assembly of New York, which Burke, their agent, presented to parliament on the fifteenth of May, was rejected, because ^{1775.} May 15. they questioned the right of parliament to tax America. Three days later, Lord North avowed the orders for raising Canadian regiments of French papists; "however," he continued, "the dispute with America is not so alarming as some people apprehend. I have not the least doubt it will end speedily, happily, and without bloodshed."

On the twenty-third of May, secret advices from ^{May 23.} Philadelphia confirmed Dartmouth and the king in their confidence that North's conciliatory resolution "would remove all obstacles to the restoration of public tranquillity," through "the moderation and loyal disposition of the assembly of New York." The king, in proroguing parliament on the twenty-sixth, no longer introduced the rebel people of Massachusetts, but spoke only of "his subjects in America, whose wishes were to be gratified and apprehensions removed as far as the constitution would allow." The court gazette was equally moderate. The members of parliament dispersed, and as yet no tidings came ^{May 27.} from the colonies of a later date than the middle of April. All America, from Lake Champlain to the Alatomaha; cities of Europe, Madrid, Paris, Amsterdam, Vienna, hardly less than London, were gazing with expectation towards the little villages that lay around Boston.

CHAPTER XXVII.

LEXINGTON.

APRIL 19, 1775.

ON the afternoon of the day on which the provincial congress of Massachusetts adjourned, Gage took the ^{1775.} April. light infantry and grenadiers off duty, and secretly prepared an expedition to destroy the colony's stores at Concord. But the attempt had for several weeks been expected; a strict watch was kept; and signals were concerted to announce the first movement of troops for the country. Samuel Adams and Hancock, who had not yet left Lexington for Philadelphia, received a timely message from Warren, and in consequence the committee of safety removed a part of the public stores and secreted the cannon.

On Tuesday the eighteenth of April, ten or more sergeants in disguise dispersed themselves through Cambridge and further west, to intercept all communication. In the following night, the grenadiers and light infantry, not less than eight hundred in number, the flower of the army at Boston, commanded by the incompetent Lieutenant-colonel Smith, crossed in the boats of the transport ships from the foot of the common to East Cambridge. There they received a day's provisions; and near midnight, after wading through wet marshes, that are now covered by a stately town, they took the road through West Cambridge to Concord.

"They will miss their aim," said one of a party who observed their departure. "What aim?" asked Lord Percy, who overheard the remark. "The cannon at Concord," was the answer. Percy hastened to Gage, who instantly directed that no one should be suffered to leave the

town. But Warren had already, at ten o'clock, despatched William Dawes through Roxbury, and Paul Revere by way of Charlestown to Lexington.

Revere stopped only to engage a friend to raise the concerted signals, and two friends rowed him across Charles River five minutes before the sentinels received the order to prevent it. All was still, as suited the hour. The "Somer-set" man-of-war was winding with the young flood; the waning moon just peered above a clear horizon; while, from a couple of lanterns in the tower of the North church, the beacon streamed to the neighboring towns, as fast as light could travel.

A little beyond Charlestown Neck, Revere was intercepted by two British officers on horseback; but, being well mounted, he turned suddenly, and leading one of them into a clay pond, escaped from the other by the road to Medford. Of that town, he waked the captain of the minute men, and continued to rouse almost every house on the way to Lexington.

The troops had not advanced far, when the firing of guns and ringing of bells announced that their expedition had been heralded before them; and Smith sent back for a reinforcement.

On the nineteenth of April, just after midnight, the message from Warren reached Adams and Hancock, ^{1775. APR. 19.} who at once divined the object of the expedition. Revere, therefore, and Dawes, joined by Samuel Prescott, "a high Son of Liberty" from Concord, rode forward, calling up the inhabitants as they passed along, till in Lincoln they fell upon a party of British officers. Revere and Dawes were seized and taken back to Lexington, where they were released; but Prescott leaped over a low stone wall, and galloped on for Concord.

There, at about two in the morning, a peal from the belfry of the meeting-house brought together the inhabitants of the place, young and old, with their firelocks, ready to make good the resolute words of their town debates. Among the most alert was William Emerson the minister, with gun in hand, his powder-horn and pouch of balls slung

over his shoulder. By his sermons and his prayers, he had so hallowed the enthusiasm of his flock that they held the defence of their liberties a part of their covenant with God; his presence with arms strengthened their sense of duty.

^{1775.}
Apr. 19. From daybreak to sunrise, the summons ran from house to house through Acton. Express messengers and the call of minute men spread widely the alarm. How children trembled as they were scared out of sleep by the cries! how women, with heaving breasts, bravely seconded their husbands! how the countrymen, forced suddenly to arm, without guides or counsellors, took instant counsel of their courage! The mighty chorus of voices rose from the scattered farm-houses, and, as it were, from the very ashes of the dead. Come forth, champions of liberty; now free your country; protect your sons and daughters, your wives and homesteads; rescue the houses of the God of your fathers, the franchises handed down from your ancestors. Now all is at stake; the battle is for all.

Lexington, in 1775, may have had seven hundred inhabitants; forming one parish, and having for their minister the learned and fervent Jonas Clark, the bold inditer of patriotic state papers, that may yet be read on their town records. In December, 1772, they had instructed their representative to demand "a radical and lasting redress of their grievances, for not through their neglect should the people be enslaved." A year later, they spurned the use of tea. In 1774, at various town-meetings, they voted "to increase their stock of ammunition," "to encourage military discipline, and to put themselves in a posture of defence against their enemies." In December, they distributed to "the train band and alarm list" arms and ammunition, and resolved to "supply the training soldiers with bayonets."

At two in the morning, under the eye of the minister, and of Hancock and Adams, Lexington common was alive with the minute men; and not with them only, but with the old men also, who were exempts, except in case of immediate danger to the town. The roll was called, and, of militia and alarm men, about one hundred and thirty

answered to their names. The captain, John Parker, ordered every one to load with powder and ball, but to take care not to be the first to fire. Messengers, sent to look for the British regulars, reported that there were ^{1775.} no signs of their approach. ^{Apr. 19.} A watch was therefore set, and the company dismissed with orders to come together at beat of drum. Some went to their own homes; some to the tavern, near the south-east corner of the common. Adams and Hancock, whose proscription had already been divulged, and whose seizure was believed to be intended, were persuaded to retire towards Woburn.

The last stars were vanishing from night, when the foremost party, led by Pitcairn, a major of marines, was discovered, advancing quickly and in silence. Alarm guns were fired, and the drums beat, not a call to village husbandmen only, but the reveille to humanity. Less than seventy, perhaps less than sixty, obeyed the summons, and, in sight of half as many boys and unarmed men, were paraded in two ranks, a few rods north of the meeting-house.

How often in that building had they, with renewed professions of their faith, looked up to God as the stay of their fathers and the protector of their privileges! How often on that village green, hard by the burial-place of their forefathers, had they pledged themselves to each other to combat manfully for their birthright inheritance of liberty! There they now stood side by side, under the provincial banner, with arms in their hands, silent and fearless, willing to fight for their privileges, scrupulous not to begin civil war, and unsuspecting of immediate danger. The ground on which they trod was the altar of freedom, and they were to furnish the victims.

The British van, hearing the drum and the alarm guns, halted to load; the remaining companies came up; and, at half an hour before sunrise, the advance party hurried forward at double quick time, almost upon a run, closely followed by the grenadiers. Pitcairn rode in front, and, when within five or six rods of the minute men, cried out: "Disperse, ye villains! ye rebels, disperse! lay down your arms! why don't you lay down your arms and disperse?"

The main part of the countrymen stood motionless in the ranks, witnesses against aggression ; too few to resist, too brave to fly. At this, Pitcairn discharged a pistol, and with a loud voice cried, " Fire ! " The order was followed first by a few guns, which did no execution, and then by a close and deadly discharge of musketry.

In the disparity of numbers, Parker ordered his men to disperse. Then, and not till then, did a few of them, on their own impulse, return the British fire. These random shots of fugitives or dying men did no harm, except that Pitcairn's horse was perhaps grazed, and a private of the tenth light infantry was touched slightly in the leg.

Jonas Parker, the strongest and best wrestler in Lexington, had promised never to run from British troops ; and he kept his vow. A wound brought him on his knees. Having discharged his gun, he was preparing to load it again, when as sound a heart as ever throbbed for freedom was stilled by a bayonet, and he lay on the post which he took at the morning's drum-beat. So fell Isaac Muzzey, and so died the aged Robert Munroe, the same who in 1758 had been an ensign at Louisburg. Jonathan Harrington, Jr., was struck in front of his own house on the north of the common. His wife was at the window as he fell. With blood gushing from his breast, he rose in her sight, tottered, fell again, then crawled on hands and knees towards his dwelling ; she ran to meet him, but only reached him as he expired on their threshold. Caleb Harrington, who had gone into the meeting-house for powder, was shot as he came out. Samuel Hadley and John Brown were pursued, and killed after they had left the green. Asahel Porter, of Woburn, who had been taken prisoner by the British on the march, endeavoring to escape, was shot within a few rods of the common.

Day came in all the beauty of an early spring. The trees were budding ; the grass growing rankly a full month before its time ; the blue bird and the robin gladdening the genial season, and calling forth the beams of the sun which on that morning shone with the warmth of summer ; but distress and horror gathered over the inhabitants of the peace-

ful town. There on the green lay in death the gray-haired and the young; the grassy field was red "with the innocent blood of their brethren slain," crying unto God for vengeance from the ground.

Seven of the men of Lexington were killed, nine ^{1775.} wounded; a quarter part of all who stood in arms on ^{Apr. 19.} the green. These are the village heroes, who were more than of noble blood, proving by their spirit that they were of a race divine. They gave their lives in testimony to the rights of mankind, bequeathing to their country an assurance of success in the mighty struggle which they began. Their names are had in grateful remembrance, and the expanding millions of their countrymen renew and multiply their praise from generation to generation. They fulfilled their duty not from the accidental impulse of the moment; their action was the slowly ripened fruit of Providence and of time. The light that led them on was combined of rays from the whole history of the race; from the traditions of the Hebrews in the gray of the world's morning; from the heroes and sages of republican Greece and Rome; from the example of Him who died on the cross for the life of humanity; from the religious creed which proclaimed the divine presence in man, and on this truth, as in a life-boat, floated the liberties of nations over the dark flood of the middle ages; from the customs of the Germans transmitted out of their forests to the councils of Saxon England; from the burning faith and courage of Martin Luther; from trust in the inevitable universality of God's sovereignty as taught by Paul of Tarsus and Augustine, through Calvin and the divines of New England; from the avenging fierceness of the Puritans, who dashed the mitre on the ruins of the throne; from the bold dissent and creative self-assertion of the earliest emigrants to Massachusetts; from the statesmen who made, and the philosophers who expounded, the revolution of England; from the liberal spirit and analyzing inquisitiveness of the eighteenth century; from the cloud of witnessess of all the ages to the reality and the rightfulness of human freedom. All the centuries bowed themselves from the recesses of the past to cheer in their sacrifice the

lowly men who proved themselves worthy of their fore-runners, and whose children rise up and call them blessed.

Heedless of his own danger, Samuel Adams, with ^{1775.} Apr. 19. the voice of a prophet, exclaimed: "Oh, what a glorious morning is this!" for he saw his country's independence hastening on, and, like Columbus in the tempest, knew that the storm did but bear him the more swiftly towards the undiscovered world.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

TO CONCORD AND BACK TO BOSTON.

APRIL NINETEENTH, 1775.

THE British troops drew up on the village green, fired a volley, huzzaed thrice by way of triumph, and, after a halt of less than thirty minutes, marched on for ^{1775.} Apr. 19. Concord. There, in the morning hours, children and women fled for shelter to the hills and the woods, and men were hiding what was left of cannon and military stores.

The minute companies and militia formed on the usual parade, over which the congregation of the town, for near a century and a half, had passed to public worship, the freemen to every town-meeting, and lately the patriot members of the provincial congress twice a day to their little senate house. Near that spot Winthrop, the father of Massachusetts, had given counsel; and Eliot, the apostle of the Indians, had spoken words of benignity and wisdom. The people of Concord, of whom about two hundred appeared in arms on that day, were unpretending men, content in their humility; their energy was derived from their sense of the divine power. This looking to God as their sovereign brought the fathers to their pleasant valley; this controlled the loyalty of the sons; and this has made the name of Concord venerable throughout the world.

The alarm company of the place rallied near the liberty pole on the hill, to the right of the Lexington road, in the front of the meeting-house. They went to the perilous duties of the day "with seriousness and acknowledgment of God," as though they were to engage in acts of worship. The minute company of Lincoln, and a few from Acton,

pressed in at an early hour ; but the British, as they approached, were seen to be four times as numerous as the Americans. The latter therefore retreated, first to an eminence eighty rods further north, then across Concord River by the North Bridge, till just beyond it, by a back road, they gained high ground, about a mile from the centre of the town. There they waited for aid.

^{1775.}
^{Apr. 19.} About seven o'clock, under brilliant sunshine, the British marched with rapid step into Concord ; the light infantry along the hills, and the grenadiers in the lower road. Left in undisputed possession of the hamlet, they made search for stores. To this end, one small party was sent to the South Bridge over Concord River ; and, of six companies under Captain Laurie, three, comprising a hundred soldiers or more, were stationed as a guard at the North Bridge, while three others advanced two miles further, to the residence of Barrett, the highest military officer of the neighborhood, where arms were thought to have been concealed. But they found there nothing to destroy except some carriages for cannon. His wife at their demand gave them refreshment, but refused pay, saying : " We are commanded to feed our enemy, if he hunger."

At daybreak, the minute men of Acton crowded at the drum-beat to the house of Isaac Davis, their captain, who " made haste to be ready." Just thirty years old, the father of four little ones, stately in his person, a man of few words, earnest even to solemnity, he parted from his wife, saying : " Take good care of the children," as though he had foreseen that his own death was near ; and, while she gazed after him with resignation, he led off his company to the scene of danger.

Between nine and ten, the number of Americans on the rising ground above Concord bridge had increased to more than four hundred. Of these, there were twenty-five minute men from Bedford, with Jonathan Wilson for their captain ; others were from Westford, among them Thaxter, a preacher ; others from Littleton, from Carlisle, and from Chelmsford. The Acton company came last, and formed on the right. The whole was a gathering not so much of

officers and soldiers as of brothers and equals; of whom every one was a man well known in his village, observed in the meeting-house on Sundays, familiar at town-meetings, and respected as a freeholder or a freeholder's son.

Near the base of the hill, Concord River flows languidly in a winding channel, and was approached by a causeway over the wet ground of its left bank. The by-road from the hill on which the Americans had rallied ran southerly till it met the causeway at right angles. The Americans saw before them within gunshot British troops holding possession of their bridge; and in the distance a still larger number occupying their town, which, from the rising smoke, seemed to have been set on fire.

In Concord itself, Pitcairn had fretted and fumed with oaths and curses at the tavern-keeper for shutting against him the doors of the inn, and exulted over the discovery of two twenty-four pounders in the tavern yard, as though they reimbursed the expedition. These were spiked; sixty barrels of flour were broken in pieces, but so imperfectly that afterwards half the flour was saved; five hundred pounds of ball were thrown into a mill-pond. <sup>1775.
Apr. 19.</sup> The liberty pole and several carriages for artillery were burnt; and the court-house took fire, though the fire was put out. Private dwellings were rifled; but this slight waste of public stores was all the advantage for which Gage precipitated a civil war.

The Americans had as yet received only uncertain rumors of the morning's events at Lexington. At the sight of fire in the village, the impulse seized them "to march into the town for its defence." But were they not subjects of the British king? Had not the troops come out in obedience to acknowledged authorities? Was resistance practicable? Was it justifiable? By whom could it be authorized? No union had been formed; no independence proclaimed; no war declared. The husbandmen and mechanics who then stood on the hillock by Concord River were called on to act, and their action would be war or peace, submission or independence. Had they doubted, they must have despaired.

But duty is bolder than theory, more confident than the understanding, older and more imperative than speculative science; existing from eternity. Prudent statesmanship would have asked for time to ponder. Wise philosophy would have lost from hesitation the glory of opening a new era on mankind. The train-bands at Concord acted, and God was with them.

"I never heard from any person the least expression of a wish for a separation," Franklin, not long before, had said to Chatham. In October, 1774, Washington wrote: "No such thing as independence is desired by any thinking man in America." "Before the nineteenth of April, 1775," relates Jefferson, "I never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from Great Britain." Just thirty-seven days had passed since John Adams in Boston published to the world: "That there are any who pant after independence, is the greatest slander on the province."

The American revolution did not proceed from precarious intentions. It grew out of the soul of the people, and was an inevitable result of a living affection for freedom, which actuated harmonious effort as certainly as the beating of the heart sends warmth and color and beauty through the system. The rustic heroes of that hour obeyed the simplest, the highest, and the surest instincts, of which the seminal principle existed in all their countrymen. From necessity they were impelled by a strong endeavor towards independence and self-direction; this day revealed the plastic will which was to attract the elements of a nation to a centre, and by an innate force to shape its constitution.

The officers, meeting in front of their men, spoke a few words with one another, and went back to their places. Barrett, the colonel, on horseback in the rear, then gave the order to advance, but not to fire unless attacked. The calm features of Isaac Davis, of Acton, became changed; the town schoolmaster, who was present, could never afterwards find words strong enough to express how deeply his face reddened at the word of command. "I have not a man that is afraid to go," said Davis, looking at the men of Acton; and, drawing his sword, he cried: "March!"

His company, being on the right, led the way towards the bridge, he himself at their head, and by his side Major John Buttrick of Concord, with John Robinson of Westford, lieutenant-colonel in Prescott's regiment, but on this day a volunteer without command.

Thus these three men walked together in front, followed by minute men and militia, in double file, trailing arms. They went down the hillock, entered the by-^{1775.}road, came to its angle with the main road, and there ^{Apr. 19.}turned into the causeway that led straight to the bridge. The British began to take up the planks; to prevent it, the Americans quickened their step. At this, the British fired one or two shots up the river; then another, by which Luther Blanchard and Jonas Brown were wounded. A volley followed, and Isaac Davis and Abner Hosmer, the latter a son of the deacon of the Acton church, fell dead. Three hours before, Davis had bid his wife and children farewell. That afternoon, he was carried home and laid in her bedroom. His countenance was little altered and pleasant in death. The bodies of two others of his company, who were slain that day, were brought also to her house, and the three were followed to the village graveyard by a concourse of the neighbors from miles around. Heaven gave her length of days in the land which his generous self-devotion assisted to redeem. She lived to see her country touch the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific; and when it was grown great in numbers, wealth, and power, the United States in congress paid honors to her husband's martyrdom, and comforted her under the double burden of sorrow and more than ninety years.

As the British fired, Emerson, who was looking on from his chamber window near the bridge, was for one moment uneasy lest the fire should not be returned. It was only for a moment; Buttrick, leaping into the air, and at the same time partially turning round, cried aloud, as if with his country's voice: "Fire, fellow-soldiers! for God's sake, fire!" and the cry, "fire, fire, fire," ran from lip to lip. Two of the British fell; several were wounded. In two minutes, all was hushed. The British retreated in disorder

towards their main body ; the countrymen were left in possession of the bridge. This is the world renowned BATTLE OF CONCORD ; more eventful than Agincourt or Blenheim.

The Americans had acted from impulse, and stood astonished at what they had done. They made no pursuit and did no further harm, except that one wounded soldier, attempting to rise as if to escape, was struck on the head by a young man with a hatchet. The party at Barrett's might have been cut off, but was not molested. As the Sudbury company, commanded by the brave Nixon, passed near the

South Bridge, Josiah Haynes, then eighty years of ^{1775.} age, deacon of the Sudbury church, urged an attack _{Apr. 19.} on the British party stationed there ; his advice was rejected by his fellow-soldiers as premature, but the company in which he served proved among the most alert during the rest of the day.

In the town of Concord, Smith, for half an hour, showed by marches and countermarches his uncertainty of purpose. At last, about noon, he left the town, to retreat the way he came, along the hilly road that wound through forests and thickets. The minute men and militia, who had taken part in the fight, ran over the hills opposite the battle-field into the east quarter of the town, crossed the pasture known as the "Great Fields," and placed themselves in ambush a little to the eastward of the village, near the junction of the Bedford road. There they were re-enforced by men from all around, and at that point the chase of the English began.

Among the foremost were the minute men of Reading, led by John Brooks, and accompanied by Foster, the minister of Littleton, as a volunteer. The company of Billerica, whose inhabitants, in their just indignation at Nesbit and his soldiers, had openly resolved to "use a different style from that of petition and complaint," came down from the north, while the East Sudbury company appeared on the south. A little below the Bedford road at Merriam's corner, the British faced about ; but after a sharp encounter, in which several of them were killed, they resumed their retreat.

At the high land in Lincoln, the old road bent towards

the north, just where great trees on the west, and thickets on the east, and stone walls in every direction, offered cover to the pursuers. The men from Woburn came up in great numbers, and well armed. Along these defiles, eight of the British were left. Here Pitcairn was forced to quit his horse, which was taken with his pistols in their holsters. A little further on, Jonathan Wilson, captain of the Bedford minute men, too zealous to keep on his guard, was killed by a flanking party. At another defile in Lincoln, the minute men of Lexington, commanded by John Parker, renewed the fight. Every piece of wood, every rock by the wayside, served as a lurking-^{1775.} place. Scarce ten of the Americans were at any time ^{Apr. 19.} seen together; yet the hills on each side seemed to the British to swarm with "rebels," as if they had dropped from the clouds, and "the road was lined" by an unintermitted fire from behind stone walls and trees.

At first the invaders moved in order; as they drew near Lexington, their flanking parties became ineffective from weariness; the wounded were scarce able to get forward. In the west of Lexington, as the British were rising Fiske's hill, a sharp contest ensued. It was at the eastern foot of the same hill that James Hayward, son of the deacon of Acton church, encountered a regular, and both at the same moment fired; the regular dropped dead, James Hayward was mortally wounded. A little further on fell the octogenarian Josiah Haynes, of Sudbury, who had kept pace with the swiftest in the pursuit.

The British troops, "greatly exhausted and fatigued, and having expended almost all their ammunition," began to run rather than retreat in order. The officers vainly attempted to stop their flight. "They were driven before the Americans like sheep." At last, about two in the afternoon, after they had hurried through the middle of the town, about a mile below the field of the morning's bloodshed, the officers made their way to the front, and by menaces of death began to form them under a very heavy fire.

At that moment, Lord Percy came in sight with the first

brigade, consisting of Welsh fusileers, the fourth, the forty-seventh, and the thirty-eighth regiments, in all about twelve hundred men, with two field-pieces. Insolent as usual, they marched out of Boston to the tune of Yankee Doodle; but they grew alarmed at finding every house on the road deserted. They met not one person to give them tidings of the party whom they were sent to rescue; and, now that they had made the junction, they could think only of their own safety.

^{1775.}
Apr. 19.

While the cannon kept the Americans at bay, Percy formed his detachment into a square, enclosing the fugitives, who lay down for rest on the ground, "their tongues hanging out of their mouths like those of dogs after a chase."

From this time, the Americans had to contend against nearly the whole of the British army in Boston. Its best troops, fully two thirds of its whole number, and more than that proportion of its strength, were now with Percy. And yet delay was sure to prove ruinous. The British must fly speedily and fleetly, or be overwhelmed. Two wagons, sent out to them with supplies, were waylaid and captured by Payson, the minister of Chelsea. From far and wide minute men were gathering. The men of Dedham, even the old men, received their minister's blessing and went forth, in such numbers that scarce one male between sixteen and seventy was left at home. That morning William Prescott mustered his regiment; and, though Pepperell was so remote that he could not be in season for the pursuit, he hastened down with five companies of guards. Before noon, a messenger rode at full speed into Worcester, crying, "To arms!" A fresh horse was brought, and the tidings went on; while the minute men of that town, after joining hurriedly on the common in a fervent prayer from their minister, kept on the march till they reached Cambridge.

Aware of his perilous position, Percy, resting but half an hour, renewed the retreat. The light infantry marched in front, the grenadiers next, while the first brigade, which now furnished the very strong flanking parties, brought up the rear. They were exposed to a fire on each side, in front, and from behind. The Americans, who were good

marksmen, would lie down concealed to load their guns at one place, and discharge them at another, running from front to flank, and from flank to rear. Rage and revenge and shame at their flight led the regulars to plunder houses by the wayside, to destroy in wantonness windows and furniture, to set fire to barns and houses.

Beyond Lexington, the troops were attacked by ^{1775.} men chiefly from Essex and the lower towns. The ^{Apr. 19.} fire from the rebels slackened, till they approached West Cambridge, where Joseph Warren and William Heath, both of the committee of safety, the latter a provincial general officer, gave for a moment some little appearance of organization, and the fight grew sharper and more determined. Here the company from Danvers, which made a breastwork of a pile of shingles, lost eight men, caught between the enemy's flank guard and main body. Here, too, a musket-ball grazed the hair of Warren, whose heart beat to arms, so that he was ever in the place of greatest danger. The British became more and more "exasperated," and indulged themselves in savage cruelty. In one house they found two aged, helpless, unarmed men, and butchered them both without mercy, stabbing them, breaking their skulls, and dashing out their brains. Hannah Adams, wife of Deacon Joseph Adams of Cambridge, lay in child-bed with a babe of a week old, but was forced to crawl with her infant in her arms and almost naked to a corn-shed, while the soldiers set her house on fire. At Cambridge, an idiot, perched on a fence to gaze at the regular army, was wantonly shot at and killed. Of the Americans, there were never more than four hundred together at any one time; but, as some grew tired or used up their ammunition, others took their places, and, though there was not much concert or discipline, and no attack with masses, the pursuit never flagged.

Below West Cambridge, the militia from Dorchester, Roxbury, and Brookline came up. Of these, Isaac Gardner of the latter place, one on whom the colony rested many hopes, fell about a mile west of Harvard College. The field-pieces began to lose their terror, so that the Americans pressed upon the rear of the fugitives, whose retreat could

not become more precipitate. Had it been delayed a half hour longer, or had Pickering, with his fine regiment from Salem, Danvers, and Marblehead, been alert enough to have intercepted them in front, it was thought that, worn down as they were by fatigue and exhausted of ammunition, they must have surrendered. But, a little after sunset, the survivors escaped across Charlestown Neck.

The troops of Perry had marched thirty miles in ten hours; the party of Smith, in six hours, had retreated twenty miles; the guns of the ships-of-war and a menace to burn the town of Charlestown saved them from annoyance during their rest on Bunker Hill, and while they were ferried across Charles River.

^{1775.}
^{Apr. 19.} On that day, forty-nine Americans were killed, thirty-four wounded, and five missing. The loss of the British in killed, wounded, and missing, was two hundred and seventy-three; greater than in the battle before Quebec where Wolfe fell. Among the wounded were many officers; Smith was hurt severely. Many more were disabled by fatigue.

All the following night, the men of Massachusetts streamed in from scores of miles around, old men as well as young. They had scarce a semblance of artillery or warlike stores, no powder, nor organization, nor provisions; but there they were, thousands with brave hearts, determined to rescue the liberties of their country. "The night preceding the outrages at Lexington, there were not fifty people in the whole colony that ever expected any blood would be shed in the contest;" the night after, the king's governor and the king's army found themselves closely beleaguered in Boston.

"The next news from England must be conciliatory, or the connection between us ends," said Warren. "This month," so William Emerson, of Concord, late chaplain to the provincial congress, chronicled in a blank leaf of his almanac, "is remarkable for the greatest events of the present age." "From the nineteenth of April, 1775," said Clark, of Lexington, on its first anniversary, "will be dated the liberty of the American world."

CHAPTER XXIX.

EFFECTS OF THE DAY OF LEXINGTON AND CONCORD.
THE ALARM.

APRIL, 1775.

DARKNESS closed upon the country and upon the town, but it was no night for sleep. Heralds on swift relays of horses transmitted the war message from ^{1775.} hand to hand, till village repeated it to village; the ^{Apr. 19.} sea to the backwoods; the plains to the highlands; and it was never suffered to droop, till it had been borne north and south, and east and west, throughout the land. It spread over the bays that received the Saco and the Penobscot. Its loud reveille broke the rest of the trappers of New Hampshire, and, ringing like bugle-notes from peak to peak, overleapt the Green Mountains, swept onward to Montreal, and descended the ocean river, till the responses were echoed from the cliffs of Quebec. The hills along the Hudson told to one another the tale. As the summons hurried to the south, it was one day at New York; in one more at Philadelphia; the next it lighted a watchfire at Baltimore; thence it waked an answer at Annapolis. Crossing the Potomac near Mount Vernon, it was sent forward without a halt to Williamsburg. It traversed the Dismal Swamp to Nansemond along the route of the first emigrants to North Carolina. It moved onwards and still onwards through boundless groves of evergreen to Newbern and to Wilmington. "For God's sake, forward it by night and by day," wrote Cornelius Harnett by the express which sped for Brunswick. Patriots of South Carolina caught up its tones at the border, and despatched it to Charleston, and through pines and palmettoes and moss-clad live oaks, still

further to the south, till it resounded among the New England settlements beyond the Savannah. Hillsborough and the Mecklenburg district of North Carolina rose in triumph, now that their wearisome uncertainty had its end. The Blue Ridge took up the voice, and made it heard from one end to the other of the valley of Virginia. The Alleghanies, as they listened, opened their barriers, that the "loud call" might pass through to the hardy riflemen on the Holston, the Watauga, and the French Broad. Ever renewing its strength, powerful enough even to create a com-
 1775.
 Apr. 19. monwealth, it breathed its inspiring word to the first settlers of Kentucky; so that hunters, who made their halt in the matchless valley of the Elkhorn, commemorated the nineteenth day of April by naming their encampment LEXINGTON.

With one impulse, the colonies sprung to arms; with one spirit, they pledged themselves to each other "to be ready for the extreme event." With one heart, the continent cried: "Liberty or Death."

The first measure of the Massachusetts committee of safety, after the dawn of the twentieth of April, was a circular to the several towns in Massachusetts. "We conjure you," they wrote, "by all that is dear, by all that is sacred; we beg and entreat, as you will answer it to your country, to your consciences, and, above all, to God himself, that you will hasten and encourage by all possible means the enlistment of men to form the army, and send them forward to head-quarters at Cambridge with that expedition which the vast importance and instant urgency of the affair demands."

The people of Massachusetts had not waited for the call. The country people, as soon as they heard the cry of innocent blood from the ground, snatched their firelocks from the walls; and wives and mothers and sisters took part in preparing the men of their households to go forth to the war. The farmers rushed to "the camp of liberty," often with nothing but the clothes on their backs, without a day's provisions, and many without a farthing in their pockets. Their country was in danger; their brethren were slaughtered; their arms alone employed their attention. On

their way, the inhabitants gladly opened their hospitable doors, and all things were in common. For the first night of the siege, Prescott of Pepperell with his ^{1775.} _{Apr. 19.} Middlesex minute men kept the watch over the entrance to Boston; and, while Gage was driven for safety to fortify the town at all points, the Americans already talked of nothing but driving him and his regiments into the sea.

At the same time, the committee by letter gave the story of the preceding day to New Hampshire and Connecticut, whose assistance they entreated. "We shall be glad," they wrote, "that our brethren who come to our aid may be supplied with military stores and provisions, as we have none of either more than is absolutely necessary for ourselves." And without stores or cannon, or supplies even of powder, or of money, Massachusetts by its congress, on the twenty-second of April, resolved unanimously that a New England army of thirty thousand men should be raised, and established its own proportion at thirteen thousand six hundred. The term of enlistment was fixed for the last day of December.

Long before this summons, the ferries over the Merrimack were crowded by men from New Hampshire. "We go," said they, "to the assistance of our brethren." By one o'clock of the twentieth, upwards of sixty men of Nottingham assembled at the meeting-house with arms and equipments, under Cilley and Dearborn; before two, they were joined by bands from Deerfield and Epsom; and they set out together for Cambridge. At dusk, they reached Haverhill ferry, a distance of twenty-seven miles, having run rather than marched; they halted in Andover only for refreshments, and, traversing fifty-five miles in less than twenty hours, by sunrise of the twenty-first paraded on Cambridge common.

The veteran John Stark, skilled in the ways of the Indian, the English, and his countrymen, able to take his rest on a bearskin with a roll of snow for a pillow, frank and humane, eccentric but true, famed for coolness and courage and integrity, had no rival in the confidence of his neighbors, and was chosen colonel of their regiment by their unanimous

vote. He rode in haste to the scene of action, on the way encouraging the volunteers to rendezvous at Medford. So many followed that on the morning of the twenty-second he was detached with three hundred to take post at Chelsea, where his battalion, which was one of the fullest in the besieging army, became a model for its discipline.

^{1775.}
^{April.} By the twenty-third, there were already about two thousand men from the interior parts of New Hampshire, desirous "not to return before the work was done." Many who remained near the upper Connecticut threw up the civil and military commissions held from the king; for, said they, "the king has forfeited his crown, and all commissions from him are therefore vacated of course."

In Connecticut, Trumbull, the governor, sent out writs to convene the legislature of the colony at Hartford on the Wednesday following the battle. Meantime, the people could not be restrained. On the morning of the twentieth, Israel Putnam, of Pomfret, in leather frock and apron, was assisting hired men to build a stone wall on his farm, when he heard the cry from Lexington. Leaving them to continue their task, he set off instantly to rouse the militia officers of the nearest towns. On his return, he found hundreds who had mustered and chosen him their leader. Issuing orders for them to follow, he himself pushed forward without changing the check shirt he had worn in the field, and reached Cambridge at sunrise the next morning, having ridden the same horse a hundred miles within eighteen hours. He brought to the service of his country courage which, during the war, was never questioned; and a heart than which none throbbed more honestly or warmly for American freedom.

From Wethersfield, a hundred young volunteers marched for Boston on the twenty-second, well armed and in high spirits. From the neighboring towns, men of the largest estates, and the most esteemed for character, seized their firelocks and followed. By the second night, several thousands from the colony were on their way. Some fixed on their standards and drums the colony arms, and round it in

letters of gold the motto, that God who brought over their fathers would sustain the sons.

In New Haven, Benedict Arnold, captain of a volunteer company, agreed with his men to march the next morning for Boston. "Wait for proper orders," was the advice of Wooster; but the self-willed commander, ^{1775.} ^{April.} brooking no delay, extorted supplies from the committee of the town, and on the twenty-ninth reached the American head-quarters with his company. There was scarcely a town in Connecticut that was not represented among the besiegers.

The nearest towns of Rhode Island were in motion before the British had finished their retreat. At the instance of Hopkins and others, Wanton, the governor, though himself inclined to the royal side, called an assembly. Its members were all of one mind; and when Wanton, with several of the council, showed hesitation, they resolved, if necessary, to proceed alone. The council yielded, and confirmed the unanimous vote of the assembly, which authorized raising an army of fifteen hundred men. "The colony of Rhode Island," wrote Bowler, the speaker, to the Massachusetts congress, "is firm and determined; and a greater unanimity in the lower house scarce ever prevailed." Companies of the men of Rhode Island preceded this early message.

Massachusetts gained confidence now that New Hampshire and Connecticut and Rhode Island had come to its support. The New England volunteers were men of substantial worth, of whom almost every one represented a household. The members of the several companies were well known to each other, as to brothers, kindred, and townsmen; known to the old men who remained at home, and to all the matrons and maidens. They were sure to be remembered weekly in the exercises of the congregations; and morning and evening, in the usual family devotions, they were commended with fervent piety to the protection of Heaven. Every young soldier lived and acted, as it were, under the keen observation of all those among whom he had grown up, and was sure that his conduct would occupy the tongues of his village companions while he was in

the field, and perhaps be remembered his life long. The camp of liberty was a gathering in arms of schoolmates, neighbors, and friends; and Boston was beleaguered round from Roxbury to Chelsea by an unorganized, fluctuating mass of men, each with his own musket and his little store of cartridges, and such provisions as he brought with him, or as were sent after him, or were contributed by the people round about.

1775.
April. The British officers, from their own weakness and from fear of the American marksmen, dared not order a sally. Their confinement was the more irksome, for it came of a sudden before their magazines had been filled, and was followed by "an immediate stop to supplies of every kind." The troops, in consequence, suffered severely from unwholesome diet; and their commanders fretted with bitter mortification. They had scoffed at the Americans as cowards who would run at their sight; and they had saved themselves only by the rapidity of their retreat. Re-enforcements and three new general officers were already on the Atlantic, and these would have to be received into straitened quarters by a defeated army. England, and even the ministers, would condemn the inglorious expedition which had brought about so sudden and so fatal a change. The officers shrunk from avowing their own acts; and, though no one would say that he had seen the Americans fire first, they tried to make it pass current that a handful of countrymen at Lexington had begun a fight with a detachment that outnumbered them as twelve to one. "They did not make one gallant attempt during so long an action," wrote Smith, who was smarting under his wound, and escaped captivity only by the opportune arrival of Percy.

Men are prone to fail in equity towards those whom their pride regards as their inferiors. The Americans, slowly provoked and long suffering, treated the prisoners with tenderness, nursed the wounded as though they had been kinsmen, and invited Gage to send out British surgeons for their relief. Yet Percy could degrade himself so far as to calumniate the countrymen who gave him chase, and officially lend himself to the falsehood that "the rebels scalped

and cut off the ears of some of the wounded who fell into their hands." He should have respected the name which he bore, famed as it is in history and in song; and he should have respected the men before whom he fled. The falsehood brings dishonor on its voucher; the people whom he reviled were among the mildest and most compassionate of their race.

1775.
April.

CHAPTER XXX.

EFFECTS OF THE DAY OF LEXINGTON AND CONCORD CONTINUED. THE CAMP OF LIBERTY.

APRIL—MAY, 1775.

THE inhabitants of Boston suffered an accumulation of sorrows, brightened only by the hope of the ultimate relief of all America. ^{1775.} Gage made them an offer that, ^{April.} if they would promise not to join in an attack on his troops, and would lodge their arms with the selectmen at Faneuil Hall, the men, women, and children, with all their effects, should have safe conduct out of the town. The proposal was accepted. For several days the road to Roxbury was thronged with wagons and trains of wretched exiles; but they were not allowed to take with them any provisions; and nothing could be more affecting than to see the helpless families come out without any thing to eat. The provincial congress took measures for distributing five thousand of the poor among the villages of the interior. But the loyalists of Boston, of whom two hundred volunteered to enter the king's service, desired to detain the people as hostages; Gage therefore soon violated his pledge; and many respected citizens, children whose fathers were absent, widows, unemployed mechanics, persons who had no protectors to assist their escape, remained in town to share the hardships of a siege, ill provided and exposed to the insults of an exasperated enemy.

On the twenty-seventh of April, the assembly of Connecticut read the vote of Massachusetts, that New England should bring into the field thirty thousand men. On the next day, they despatched two envoys to Gage to plead for peace, yet to assure him of their most firm resolution to defend their

rights to the last extremity and to aid their brethren. The mission was fruitless; but in the mean time the populous colony made ready to treat with sword in hand.

No choice was left to the Massachusetts committee of safety but to drive out the British army, or perish in the attempt; even though every thing conspired to make the American forces incapable of decisive action. There was no unity in the camp. At Roxbury, John Thomas had command, and received encomiums for the good order which prevailed in his division; but Ward, the general who was at Cambridge, had the virtues of a magistrate rather than of a soldier. He was old, unused to a separate military command, from an infirmity not fit to appear on horseback, and wanting in "quick decision and activity;" he never could introduce discipline among free men, who owned no superiority but that of merit, no obedience but that of willing minds. Nor had he received from the provincial congress his commission as commander in chief; nor was his authority independent of the committee of safety. Moreover, the men from other colonies did not as yet form an integral part of one "grand American" army, but appeared as independent corps from their respective provinces under leaders of their own.

Of the men of Massachusetts who first came down as volunteers, the number varied from day to day, and was never at any one time ascertained with precision. Many of them returned home almost as soon as they came, for want of provisions or clothes, or because they had not waited to put their affairs in order. Of those who enlisted in the Massachusetts army, a very large number absented themselves on furlough. It was feared by Ward that it would be impossible for him to keep the army together, and that he should be left alone. As for artillery, it was found, on inquiry, that there were altogether no more than six three-pounders and one six-pounder in Cambridge, besides sixteen pieces in Watertown, of different sizes, some of them good for nothing. But even these were more than could be used. There was no ammunition but for the six three-pounders, and very little for them. In the scarcity of powder, the most anxious search

1775.
April.

was made for it throughout the colony; and, after scouring five principal counties, the whole amount that could be found was less than sixty-eight barrels. The other colonies, to which the most earnest entreaties were addressed for a supply, were equally unprovided. In the colony of New York, there were not more than one hundred pounds of powder for sale.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, the scheming genius of New England was in the highest activity. While
1775
May 1. the expedition against Ticonderoga was sanctioned by a commission granted to Benedict Arnold, the congress, which was then sitting in Watertown, received from Jonathan Brewer, of Waltham, a proposition to march with a body of five hundred volunteers to Quebec, by way of the rivers Kennebec and Chaudière, in order to draw the governor of Canada, with his troops, into that quarter, and thus secure the northern and western frontiers from inroads. He was sure it "could be executed with all the facility imaginable." The design was not then favored, but it did not pass out of mind.

Now that Massachusetts had entered into war with Great Britain, next to the want of military stores, the poverty of her treasury, which during the whole winter had received scarcely five thousand pounds of currency to meet all expenses, gave just cause for apprehension. For more than twenty years, she had endeavored by legislative penalties to exclude the paper currency of other provinces, and had issued no notes of her own but certificates of debt,
May 5. in advance of the revenue. These certificates were for sums of six pounds and upwards, bearing interest; they had no forced circulation, and were kept at par by the high condition of her credit and her general prosperity. The co-operation of neighboring colonies compelled her congress in May to legalize the paper money of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and from fiscal necessity to issue her own treasury notes. Of her first emission of one hundred thousand pounds, there were no notes under four pounds, and they all preserved the accustomed form of certificates of public debt, of which the use was not made

compulsory. But, in less than three weeks, an emission of twenty-six thousand pounds was authorized for the advance pay to the soldiers; and these "soldiers' notes," of which the smallest was for one dollar, were made a legal tender "in all payments without discount or abatement." Rhode Island put out twenty thousand pounds in bills, of which the largest was for forty shillings, the smallest for sixpence.

On the fifth of May, the provincial congress re-^{1775.}
solved, "that General Gage had disqualified himself ^{May.}
for serving the colony in any capacity; that no obedience was in future due to him; that he ought to be guarded against as an unnatural and inveterate enemy." To provide for order was an instant necessity; but the patriots of the colony checked their eagerness to renovate the ancient custom of annually electing their chief magistrate, and resolved to wait till they could receive from the continental congress "explicit advice respecting the taking up and exercising the powers of civil government." They were ready to receive a plan, or, with the consent of congress, to establish a form for themselves.

"After the termination of the present struggle," wrote Warren, "I hope never more to be obliged to enter into a political war. I would therefore wish the government here to be so happily constituted that the only road to promotion may be through the affections of the people. I would have such a government as should give every man the greatest liberty to do what he pleases, consistent with restraining him from doing any injury to another; or such a government as would most contribute to the good of the whole, with the least inconvenience to individuals."

To form the grand American army, New Hampshire agreed to raise two thousand men, of whom perhaps twelve hundred reached the camp. Folsom was their brigadier, but John Stark was the most trusty officer. Connecticut offered six thousand men; and about twenty-three hundred remained at Cambridge, with Spenser as their chief, and Putnam as second brigadier.

Rhode Island voted an army of fifteen hundred men; and probably about a thousand of them appeared round

Boston, under Nathaniel Greene. He was one of eight sons, born in a house of a single story, near the Narragansett Bay in Warwick. In that quiet seclusion, Gorton and his followers, untaught of universities, had reasoned on the highest questions of being. They had held that in America Christ was coming to his temple; that outward ceremonies, baptism and the eucharist, and also kings and lords, bishops and chaplains, were but carnal ordinances, sure to have an end; that humanity must construct its church by "the voice of the Son of God," the voice of reason and love. The father of Greene, descended from ancestry of this school, was at once an anchor-smith, a miller, a farmer, and, like Gorton, a preacher. The son excelled in diligence and in manly sports. None of his age could wrestle or skate or run better than he, or stand before him as a neat ploughman and a skilful mechanic.

1775.
May.

Aided by intelligent men of his own village or of Newport, he read Euclid, and learned to apply geometry to surveying and navigation; he studied Watts's Logic, Locke on the Human Understanding, pored over English versions of the Lives of Plutarch, the Commentaries of Cæsar, and became familiar with some of the best English classics, especially Shakespeare and Milton.

When the stamp act was resisted, he and his brothers never feared to rally at the drum-beat. Simple in his tastes, temperate as a Spartan, and a great lover of order, he rose early, and was indefatigable at study or at work. He married, and his home became the abode of peace and hospitality. His neighbors looked up to him as an extraordinary man, and from 1770 he was their representative in the colonial legislature. Once, in 1773, he rode to Plainfield in Connecticut, to witness a grand military parade; and the spectacle was for him a good commentary on Sharp's Military Guide. In 1774, in a coat and hat of the Quaker fashion, he was seen watching the exercise and manœuvres of the British troops at Boston, where he used to buy of Henry Knox, a bookseller, treatises on the art of war.

On the day of Lexington, Greene, who was then a cap-

tain, started to share in the conflict; but, being met by tidings of the retreat of the British, he went back to take his seat in the Rhode Island legislature. He next served as a commissioner to concert military plans with Connecticut; and, when in May the Rhode Island brigade of fifteen hundred men was enlisted, he was elected its general. None murmured at the advancement, which was justly due to his superior ability. "I hope," said he meekly, "God will preserve me in the bounds of moderation, ¹⁷⁷⁵ and enable me to support myself with proper dig-
May.
nity, neither rash nor timorous." As he became familiar with his duty, he never forgot that he was keeping guard for the interests of mankind, looking to the continental congress as the friend of the liberty of the world, and the support of the rights of human nature.

CHAPTER XXXI.

EFFECTS OF THE DAY OF LEXINGTON AND CONCORD CONTINUED. THE GENERAL RISING.

APRIL—MAY, 1775.

ON Sunday the twenty-third of April, the day after the dissolution of the provincial congress of New York, the news from Lexington burst upon the city. The ^{1775.} ^{Apr. 23.} intriguing emissaries who had undertaken to break the chain of union found their schemes arrested by war. The inhabitants, flushed with resentment, threw off restraints. Though it was Sunday, two sloops which lay at the wharfs, laden with flour and supplies for the British at Boston, of the value of eighty thousand pounds, were speedily unloaded. The next day, Dartmouth's despatches arrived with Lord North's conciliatory resolve, and with lavish promises of favor. But the royal government, already prostrate, could not recover its consideration. Isaac Sears concerted with John Lamb to stop all vessels going to Quebec, Newfoundland, Georgia, or Boston, where British authority was still supreme. The people, who came together at beat of drum, shut up the custom house; and the merchants whose vessels were cleared out dared not let them sail.

^{Apr. 24.} In the following days, the military stores of the city of New York were secured; and volunteer companies paraded in the streets. Small cannon were hauled from the city to King's Bridge; churchmen as well as Presbyterians, without regard to creeds, took up arms. As the old committee of fifty-one lagged behind the zeal of the multitude, on Monday, the first of May, the people, at the usual places of election, chose for the city and county a new gen-

eral committee of one hundred, who "resolved in the most explicit manner to stand or fall with the liberty of the continent." All parts of the colony were summoned to send delegates to a provincial convention, to which the city and county of New York deputed one-and-twenty as their representatives.

Eighty-three members of the new general committee met as soon as they were chosen; and on the motion of John Morin Scott, seconded by Alexander Macdougall, an association was set on foot, engaging by all the ties of religion, honor, and love of country, to submit to committees and to congress, to withhold supplies from British troops, and at the risk of lives and fortunes to repel every attempt at enforcing taxation by parliament. The royalists had desired the presence of a considerable body of British soldiery; the blood shed at Lexington left them no hope but in a change of policy. Accordingly, fourteen members of the New York assembly, most of them stanch supporters of the plans of the ministry, entreated General Gage to cease hostilities till fresh orders could be received from the king, and especially to land no military force in the province.

On the sailing of the packet, all parties appealed to England. The royal council despatched two agents to represent to the ministry how severely the rash conduct of the army at Boston had injured the friends of the king; while the New York committee thus addressed the lord mayor and corporation of London, and through them the people of Great Britain: 1775.
May 5.

"Born to the bright inheritance of English freedom, the inhabitants of this extensive continent can never submit to slavery. The disposal of their own property with perfect spontaneity is their indefeasible birthright. This they are determined to defend with their blood, and transfer to their posterity. The present machinations of arbitrary power, if unremittedly pursued, will, by a fatal necessity, terminate in a dissolution of the empire. This country will not be deceived by measures conciliatory in appearance. We cheerfully submit to a regulation of commerce by the legislature of the parent state, excluding in its nature every

idea of taxation. When our unexampled grievances are redressed, our prince will find his American subjects testifying, by as ample aids as their circumstances will permit, the most unshaken fidelity to their sovereign. America is grown so irritable by oppression that the least shock in any part is, by the most powerful sympathetic affection, instantaneously felt through the whole continent. This city is as one man in the cause of liberty; our inhabitants are resolutely bent on supporting their committee and the intended provincial and continental congresses; there is not the least doubt of the efficacy of their example in the other counties. In short, while the whole continent are ardently wishing for peace upon such terms as can be acceded to by Englishmen, they are indefatigable in preparing for the last appeal. We speak the real sentiments of the confederated colonies, from Nova Scotia to Georgia, when we declare that all the horrors of civil war will never compel America to submit to taxation by authority of parliament."

The letter was signed by the chairman and eighty-eight others of the committee, of whom the first was John Jay. They did this, knowing that at the time there were not five hundred pounds of powder in the city, that several regiments were ordered to New York, that it was commanded by Brooklyn heights, and that the deep water of its harbor exposed it on both sides to ships-of-war.

The packet for England had hardly passed Sandy Hook, when on the sixth the delegates to the continental congress from Massachusetts and Connecticut drew near. Three miles from the city, they were met by a company of grenadiers and a regiment of militia under arms, by carriages and a cavalcade, and by many thousands of persons on foot. Along roads which were crowded as if the whole city had come out to meet them, they made their entry, amidst loud acclamations, the ringing of bells, and every demonstration of joy.

1775.
May 8. On Monday, the delegation from Massachusetts, with a part of that of New York, were escorted across the Hudson River by two hundred of the militia

under arms, and three hundred citizens; and triumphal honors awaited them at Newark and Elizabethtown.

The governor of New Jersey could not conceal his chagrin that Gage "had risked commencing hostilities" before the experiment had been tried of attempting to cajole the several colonial legislatures into an acquiescence in Lord North's propositions.

The committee of Newark were willing to hazard their lives and fortunes in support of their brethren of the Massachusetts Bay. Princeton and Perth Amboy advised a provincial congress, to which Morris county promptly appointed delegates. "All ranks of men" in Woodbridge greatly applauded and admired the conduct and bravery of Massachusetts. On the second of May, the New Jersey committee of correspondence called a provincial congress for the twenty-third at Trenton. To anticipate its influence, the governor convened the regular assembly eight days earlier at Burlington, and laid before them the project of Lord North. The assembly could see in the proposition no avenue to reconciliation, and declared their intention to "abide by the united voice of the continental congress."

Such, too, was the spirit of Pennsylvania. "Let us not be bold in declarations and cold in action; nor have it said of Philadelphia that she passed noble resolutions and neglected them," were the words of Mifflin, youngest of the orators who on the twenty-fifth of April 1775. April. addressed the town-meeting called in that city on receiving the news from Lexington. Thousands of the inhabitants of the city were present, and agreed "to associate for the purpose of defending with arms their lives, their property, and liberty." Thomas Paine, who had indulged warm wishes for reconciliation, from that day "rejected the hardened, sullen-tempered Pharaoh of the British throne for ever." Each township in Berks county resolved to raise and discipline its company. The inhabitants of Westmoreland organized themselves into regiments. Reading formed a company of men who wore crape for a cockade, in token of sorrow for the slaughter of their brethren. In Philadelphia, thirty companies, with fifty to one hundred in each,

daily practised the manual exercise of the musket. One of them was raised from the Quakers; another, known as "the Old Men's," consisted of about fourscore German emigrants who had served in Europe.

The Pennsylvania assembly, which met on the first ^{1775.} day of May, rejecting the overtures of the governor, May. "could form no prospect of lasting advantages for Pennsylvania but from a communication of rights and property with the other colonies." At a banquet, the toast was given: "A speedy and happy issue to the present disturbances;" to which Charles Lee, overacting his part, responded: "A speedy and general insurrection in Great Britain and Ireland." On the fifth, Franklin arrived after a voyage over the smoothest seas; and the next morning he was unanimously elected a deputy to the congress; but the delegation, to which Thomas Willing and James Wilson were added, were still instructed to combine, if possible, a redress of grievances with "union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies." Wilson was one of the first in arms, and was in this month elected captain of a company of volunteers.

In Maryland, at the request of the colonels of militia, Eden at Annapolis gave up the arms and ammunition of the province to the freemen of the county. Pleased with his concession, the provincial convention distinguished itself by its dispassionate moderation; and its delegates to congress went determined to labor for a reconciliation.

Virginia was still angry at the seizure of its magazine, and at the menace of Dunmore to encourage a rising of slaves, when on the second of May, at the cry from Lexington, the independent company of Hanover and its county committee were called together by Patrick Henry. The soldiers, most of them young men, kindled at his words, elected him their chief, and marched for Williamsburg. On the way, his army increased to several thousand.

Alarmed by the "insurrections," Dunmore convened the council, and in a proclamation of the third pretended that he had removed the ammunition, lest it should be seized by slaves. Message after message could not arrest the

march or change the purpose of Henry. Lady Dunmore, in dread of being retained as a hostage, retired with her family to the "Fowey" man-of-war. The governor first resolved to resist, and then thought it best to yield. At sunrise on the fourth, his messenger met Henry at New Kent, and, as a compensation for the gunpowder taken out of the magazine, paid him three hundred and thirty pounds, for which he was to account to the convention of Virginia. The sum was found to be more than the value of the powder, and the next Virginia convention directed the excess to be restored.

Two days after the return of the volunteers, Dunmore issued a proclamation against a "certain Patrick Henry" and his "deluded followers;" and secretly denounced him to the ministry as "a man of desperate circumstances, who had been very active in encouraging disobedience and exciting a spirit of revolt among the people for many years past." On the other hand, Louisa county, on the eighth, sent the insurgents its thanks. On the ninth, Spottsylvania approved their prudent, firm, and spirited conduct; and Orange county, in a letter signed among others by the young and studious James Madison, a recent graduate of Princeton College, declared: "The blow struck in Massachusetts is a hostile attack on this and every other colony, and a sufficient warrant to use reprisal."

On the eleventh, Patrick Henry set off for the ^{1775.} continental congress; and his progress was a tri- ^{May 11.}umph. Amidst salutes and huzzas, a volunteer guard accompanied him to the Maryland side of the Potomac; where, as they said farewell, they invoked God's blessing on the champion of their "dearest rights and liberties."

The message from Lexington was borne to Newbern in twelve or thirteen days, and "wrought a great change." The governor of North Carolina, in his panic, ordered the cannon in that town to be dismounted; and after a remonstrance made in the name of the inhabitants by Abner Nash, "the oracle of their committee and a principal promoter of sedition," he shipped his wife to New York, and fled himself to Fort Johnston, where a sloop of war had its station.

CHAPTER XXXII.

EFFECTS OF THE DAY OF LEXINGTON AND CONCORD CONTINUED. TICONDEROGA TAKEN.

MAY, 1775.

THE people of South Carolina, who had hoped relief through the discontinuance of importations from Britain, did not falter on learning the decision of parliament. On the instant, Charles Pinckney, using power intrusted to him by the provincial congress, appointed a committee of five to place the colony in a state of defence; on the twenty-first of April, the very night after their organization, men of Charleston, without disguise, under their direction, seized all the powder in the public magazines, and removed eight hundred stand of arms and other military stores from the royal arsenal. The tidings from Lexington induced the general committee to hasten the meeting of the provincial congress; whose members, on the second of June, Henry Laurens being their president, associated themselves for defence against every foe; "ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to secure her freedom and safety." They resolved to raise two regiments of infantry and a regiment of rangers. To this end, one hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling were issued in bills of credit, which for a year and a half the enthusiasm of the people did not suffer to fall in value. "We are ready to give freely half or the whole of our estates for the security of our liberties," was the universal language.

The militia officers threw up their commissions from the royal governor, and submitted to the orders of congress. A council of safety was charged with executive powers.

In the midst of these proceedings, Lord William Campbell, their new governor, arrived, and the provincial congress thus addressed him: "No lust of independence ^{1775.} June 20. has had the least influence upon our counsels; no subjects more sincerely desire to testify their loyalty and affection. We deplore the measures, which, if persisted in, must rend the British empire. Trusting the event to Providence, we prefer death to slavery." "The people of Charleston are as mad as they are here in Boston," was the testimony of Gage.

The skirmish at Lexington became known in Savannah on the tenth of May, and added Georgia to the union. At that time, she had about seventeen thousand white inhabitants and fifteen thousand Africans. Her militia was not less than three thousand. Her frontier, which extended from Augusta to St. Mary's, was threatened by the Creeks, with four thousand warriors; the Chickasaws, with four hundred and fifty; the Cherokees, with three thousand; the Choctaws, with twenty-five hundred. But danger could not make her people hesitate. On the night of the eleventh, Noble Wimberley Jones, Joseph Habersham, Edward Telfair, and others, broke open the king's magazine in the eastern part of the city, and took from it over five hundred pounds of powder. To the Boston wanderers, they sent sixty-three barrels of rice and one hundred and twenty-two pounds in specie; and they kept the king's birthday by raising a liberty pole. "A general rebellion throughout America is coming on suddenly and swiftly," reported Sir James Wright, the governor; "matters will go to the utmost extremity."

The great deed, which in the mean time was April. achieved in the north, began in Connecticut, was planned by her sons and executed at her cost. Parsons of that colony, on his way to Hartford, crossing Arnold who was bound for Massachusetts, obtained of him an account of the state of Ticonderoga, and the great number of its brass cannon. At Hartford, on the twenty-seventh of April, Parsons, taking as his advisers Apr. 27. Samuel Wyllys and Silas Deane, with the assistance

of three others projected the capture of the fort; and, without formally consulting the assembly or the governor and council, they, on their own receipts, obtained money from the public treasury, and on the twenty-eighth sent forward Noah Phelps and Bernard Romans to carry forward their design. The next day, Captain Edward Mott, of Preston, was added as chairman of the Connecticut committee, and with five associates he proceeded on his mission. To prevent being discovered by a long march through the country, it was proposed to raise the men chiefly in the New Hampshire Grants; and Ethan Allen was encouraged by an express messenger to hold them in readiness. On the morning of the first of May, the party, which had grown to the number of sixteen, left Salisbury; and at Pittsfield in Massachusetts they were joined by John Brown, the young lawyer of that village, by Colonel James Easton, and by a body of volunteers from Berkshire. At Bennington they found Ethan Allen, who was certainly "the proper man to head his own people;" and they "were the proper persons for the job." Repairing to the north, he sent the alarm through the hills and valleys of Vermont; and on Sunday, the seventh of May, about one hundred Green Mountain Boys and near fifty soldiers from Massachusetts, under the command of Easton, rallied at Castleton. Just then arrived Arnold, with only one attendant. He brought a commission from the Massachusetts committee of safety, which was disregarded; and the men unanimously elected Ethan Allen their chief.

On the eighth of May, the party began the march; late on the ninth, they arrived at Orwell. With the utmost difficulty, a few boats were brought together; and eighty-three men, crossing the lake with Allen, landed near the garrison. The boats were sent back for Seth Warner and the rear-guard; but, if they were to be waited for, there could be no surprise. The men were therefore at once drawn up in three ranks; and, as the first beams of morning broke upon the mountain peaks, Allen addressed them: "Friends and fellow-soldiers, we must this morning quit our pretensions to valor, or possess ourselves of this fortress; and, inas-

much as it is a desperate attempt, I do not urge it on, contrary to will. You that will undertake voluntarily, poise your firelock."

At the word, every firelock was poised. "Face to the right!" cried Allen; and placing himself at the head of the centre file, Arnold keeping emulously at his side, he marched to the gate. It was shut, but the wicket was open. The sentry snapped a fusil at him. The Americans rushed into the fort, darted upon the guards, and raising the Indian war-whoop, such as had not been heard there since the days of Montcalm, formed on the parade in hollow square, to face each of the barracks. One of the sentries, after wounding an officer, and being slightly wounded himself, cried out for quarter, and showed the way to the apartment of the commander. "Come forth instantly, or I will sacrifice the whole garrison," cried Ethan Allen, as he reached the door. At this, Delaplace, the commander, came out undressed, with his breeches in his hand. "Deliver to me the fort instantly," said Allen. "By what authority?" asked Delaplace. "In the name of the great Jehovah, and the continental congress!" answered Allen. Delaplace began to speak again, but was peremptorily interrupted; and, at sight of Allen's drawn sword near his head, he gave up the garrison, ordering his men to be paraded without arms.

Thus Ticonderoga, which cost the British nation eight millions sterling, a succession of campaigns, and many lives, was won in ten minutes by a few undisciplined volunteers, without the loss of life or limb.

The Americans took with the fortress nearly fifty prisoners, who, as of right, were sent to Connecticut; and they gained one thirteen-inch mortar, more than a hundred pieces of cannon, and a number of swivels, stores and small-arms. To a detachment under Seth Warner, Crown Point, with its garrison of twelve men, surrendered upon the first summons. Another party succeeded in making a prisoner of Skene, a dangerous British agent; and in getting possession of Skenesborough, now known as Whitehall.

John Brown, of Pittsfield, was charged to carry to the continental congress the account of the great acquisition which inaugurated the day of its assembling. Meantime, until its advice could be known, the legislature of Massachusetts, considering that the expedition began in Connecticut, requested the legislature of that colony to take the conquest under their sole direction and care.

The movement extended itself eastward to the borders of New England. The "Canceaux," a king's ship, lay at anchor in Portland harbor; on the eleventh of May, a party of sixty men from Georgetown, too feeble to take the vessel, seized Mowat, its captain, and two of his officers, who chanced to be with him on shore. The officer left in command of the ship threatened and even began a bombardment of the town. At a late hour Mowat was released for the night, "on his promising his word and honor" that he would return the next morning. But he broke his parole; and the venom of revenge rankled in his veins, and infected the admiral of the station.

To the harbor of Machias, a king's cutter, the "Margaretta," convoyed two sloops, to be freighted with lumber for the army at Boston. On Sunday the eleventh of June, the patriots of the town, aided by volunteers from Mispercka and Pleasant River, seized the captain of the sloops "in the meeting-house," and afterwards got possession of his vessels. The "Margaretta"

did not fire on the town, but in the dusk of the evening fell down the harbor, and the next morning proceeded on her voyage. She was pursued by Captain Jeremiah O'Brien and forty men in one of the captured sloops, and by twenty others from Machias in a schooner; and, being a dull sailer, she was soon overtaken. An obstinate sea-fight took place; the captain of the cutter was mortally wounded and six of his men were hurt, when after an hour's resistance the British flag was struck, for the first time on the ocean, to Americans.

The provincial congress of Massachusetts had already proposed to extend hostilities to the sea; the subject was introduced on the seventh of June; but it was so difficult

for the colony to conceive itself in a state of war with Great Britain that a decision was continually postponed in the hope of a return of peace. "A war has begun," wrote Joseph Warren, from the Massachusetts congress; "but I hope, after a full conviction both of our ability and resolution to maintain our right, Britain will act with necessary wisdom; this I most heartily wish, as I feel a warm affection still for the parent state."

1775.
June.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

EFFECTS OF THE DAY OF LEXINGTON AND CONCORD IN
EUROPE.

MAY TO JULY, 1775.

THE news from Lexington surprised London in the last days of May. The people had been lulled into a belief that the ministry indulged in menaces only to render the olive branch acceptable; and the measures of parliament implied confidence in peace; and now it was certain that war had begun, that Britain was at war with herself.

1775.
May.

The Massachusetts congress, by a swift packet in its own service, had sent to England a calm and accurate statement of the events of the nineteenth of April, fortified by depositions, with a charge to Arthur Lee, their agent, to give it the widest circulation. These were their words to the inhabitants of Britain: "Brethren, we profess to be loyal and dutiful subjects, and, so hardly dealt with as we have been, are still ready, with our lives and fortunes, to defend the person, family, crown, and dignity of our royal sovereign. Nevertheless, to the persecution and tyranny of his cruel ministry we will not submit; appealing to Heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free."

The people of England stood appalled and divided, unwilling to fight against their countrymen; astonished and saddened at the conflict, which they had been told never would come; irresolute between national pride and sympathy with the struggle for English liberties. "The effects of General Gage's attempt at Concord are fatal," said Dartmouth, who began to wake from his dream of conciliation; "by that unfortunate event, the happy mo-

ment of advantage is lost." The condemnation of Gage was universal.

Hutchinson, the chief misleader of the government, vainly strove to hide his dejection and screen his false prophecies by saying: "The country people must soon disperse, as it is the season for planting their Indian corn." He ceased to be consulted, and sunk into insignificance.

1775.
May.

At the French legation in London, Garnier took notice that the resistance of the nineteenth of April was made with a full knowledge of the king's answer to the address of the two houses of parliament, pledging lives and fortunes for the reduction of America. "The Americans," he wrote to Vergennes, "display in their conduct, and even in their errors, more thought than enthusiasm; they have shown in succession that they know how to argue, to negotiate, and to fight."

Many people in England were from that moment convinced that the Americans could not be reduced, and that England must concede their independence. The British force, if drawn together, could hold but a few insulated points; if distributed, would be continually harassed, and destroyed in detail. Instead of attempting the subjugation of America by armies, some proposed to blockade its coast, occupy its principal ports, and reduce the country by distress.

An inhabitant of London, after reading morning prayers in his family as usual, closed the book with a face of grief, and to his children, of whom Samuel Rogers the poet was one, told the sad tale "of the murder of their American brethren."

The recorder of London put on a full suit of mourning, and being asked if he had lost a relative, answered: "Yes, many brothers at Lexington and Concord."

Granville Sharp, who held a lucrative place in the ordnance department, declined to take part in sending stores to America, and after some delay threw up his office.

Lord Chatham was the real conqueror of Canada for England; and Carleton had been proud to take to Quebec as his aide-de-camp Chatham's eldest son. But it was impos-

sible for the offspring of the elder Pitt to draw his sword against the Americans; and his resignation was offered, as soon as it could be done without a wound to his character as a soldier.

The gallant Admiral Keppel, one of the most popular officers in the British navy, expressed his readiness to serve against the ancient enemies of England, but asked not to be employed in America. Of the same mind was John Cartwright, afterward so celebrated as a political reformer, whose purity and consistency commanded respect for his opinions.

1775. Ten days before the news arrived, Lord Effingham,
June. who in his youth had been prompted by military genius to enter the army, and who had lately served as a volunteer in the war between Russia and Turkey, finding that his regiment was intended for America renounced the profession which he loved, as the only means of escaping the obligation of fighting against the cause of freedom. For this resignation, which gave offence to the court and was a severe rebuke to the officers who hushed their scruples, the Common Hall of London thanked him publicly as "a true Englishman;" and the guild of merchants in Dublin addressed him in the strongest terms of approbation.

The society for constitutional information, after a
June 7. special meeting on the seventh of June, raised a hundred pounds, "to be applied," said they, "to the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents of our beloved American fellow-subjects, who, faithful to the character of Englishmen, preferring death to slavery, were, for that reason only, inhumanly murdered by the king's troops at Lexington and Concord." Other sums were added; and an account of what had been done was laid before the world by Horne Tooke in the "Public Advertiser." For this publication, three printers were fined one hundred pounds each; and Horne was pursued unrelentingly by Thurlow, till in a later year he was convicted before Lord Mansfield of a libel, fined two hundred pounds, and imprisoned for twelve months. Thurlow even asked the judge to punish him with the pillory.

On getting the tidings, John Wesley thought that silence on his part would be a sin against God, against his country, and against his own soul; and, waiting but one day, he wrote severally to Dartmouth and to Lord North: "I am a high churchman, the son of a high churchman, bred up from my childhood in the highest notions of passive obedience and non-resistance; and yet, in spite of all my long-rooted prejudices, I cannot avoid thinking these, an oppressed people, asked for nothing more than their legal rights, and that in the most modest and inoffensive manner that the nature of the thing would allow. But waiving this, I ask, Is it common sense to use force toward the Americans? Whatever has been affirmed, these men will not be frightened, and they will not be conquered easily. Some of our valiant officers say: 'Two thousand men will clear America of these rebels.' No: nor twenty thousand, be they rebels or not, nor perhaps treble that number. They are strong; they are valiant; they are one and all enthusiasts, enthusiasts for liberty, calm, deliberate enthusiasts. In a short time, they will understand discipline as well as their assailants. But you are informed, 'they are divided amongst themselves.' So was poor Rehoboam informed concerning the ten tribes; so was Philip informed concerning the people of the Netherlands. No: they are terribly united; they think they are contending for their wives, children, and liberty. Their supplies are at hand; ours are three thousand miles off. Are we able to conquer the Americans, suppose they are left to themselves? We are not sure of this; nor are we sure that all our neighbors will stand stock-still."

Lord North was endowed with strong affections, and was happy in his family, in his fortune, and abilities. He cherished the sweet feelings of human kindness; and, in his public conduct, he, and he alone among ministers, was sensible to the reproaches of remorse. Disheartened at the prospect, he professed a wish to resign. But the king would neither give him a release nor relent towards the Americans.

On the evening of the fourteenth, the cabinet ministers assembled in very bad humor; Lord North

1775.
June 14.

feared further disagreeable news; some of his colleagues threw all the blame on his too great lenity; one and another said: "There is no receding." The most active person at the meeting was Sandwich, who had been specially summoned; a man of talents, greedy alike of glory and of money, unfit to lead, madly bent on coercion.

1775. On the twenty-fourth, the citizens of London,
June 24. agreeing fully with their letter from New York, desired the king to consider the situation of the English people, "who had nothing to expect from America but gazettes of blood, and mutual lists of their slaughtered fellow-subjects." And again they prayed for the dissolution of parliament, and a dismissal for ever of the present ministers. As the king refused to receive this address on the throne, it was never presented; but it was entered in the books of the city and published under its authority. The request was timely; there was no chance for peace except the ministers should retire, and leave Chatham to be installed as conciliator; but they clung to their places, and the stubborn king, whatever might happen, was resolved not to change his government. There existed no settled plan, no reasonable project; the conduct of the administration hardly looked beyond the day; and how to subdue the rebels was the paramount subject of consideration. Every question of foreign policy was, for the moment, made subordinate to that of their reduction. The enforcement of the treaty of Paris respecting Dunkirk was treated as a small matter. The complaints of France for the wrongs her fishermen had suffered, and the curtailment of her boundary in the fisheries of Newfoundland, were uttered with vehemence, received with suavity, and recognised as valid.

As Englishmen enough to carry on a fierce war of subjugation were not to be engaged, the king's advisers cast their eyes outside of England for aid. They counted with certainty upon the inhabitants of Canada; they formed plans to recruit in Ireland; they looked to Hanover for regiments to take the place of British garrisons in Europe. The landgrave of Hesse began to think his services as a dealer in troops might be demanded; but a more stupendous scheme

was contemplated. Russia had just retired from the war with Turkey, with embarrassed finances and an army of more than three hundred thousand men. England had courted an alliance with that power, as a counterpoise to the Bourbons; had assented to the partition of Poland; had invited and even urged a former czar to exercise a controlling influence over the politics of Germany; by recent demonstrations and good offices, had advanced the success of the Russian arms against the Ottoman Porte. The empress was a woman of rare ability; ambitious of conquest; equally ambitious of glory. Her army, so Potemkin boasted, might alone spare troops enough to trample the Americans under foot. To the Russian empress, the king resolved to make a wholesale application; and, to the extent of his wants, to buy at the highest rate battalions of Russian serfs, emancipated by military service; Cossack rangers; Slavonian infantry; light troops from fifty semi-barbarous nationalities, to crush the life of freedom in America. The thought of appearing as the grand arbitress of the world, with paramount influence in both hemispheres, was to dazzle the imagination of Catharine; and lavish largesses were to purchase the approval of her favorites.

1775.
June.

This plan was not suddenly conceived; at New York, in the early part of the previous winter, it had been held up in terror to the Americans. Success in the negotiation was believed to be certain.

But the contracting for Russian troops, their march to convenient harbors in the north, and their transport from the Baltic to America, would require many months; the king was impatient of delay. A hope still lingered that the Highlanders and others in the interior of North Carolina might be induced to rise, and be formed into a battalion. Against Virginia, it was intended to employ a separate squadron, and a small detachment of regular troops. Three thousand stand of arms, with two hundred rounds of powder and ball for each musket, together with four pieces of light artillery, were instantly shipped for the use of Dunmore, who was expected to arm Indians and negroes enough to make up the deficiency in white men.

At the north, the king "relied upon the attachment of his faithful allies, the Six Nations of Indians." The order to engage them was sent in his name directly to the unscrupulous Indian agent, Guy Johnson, whose functions were made independent of the too scrupulous Carleton. "Lose no time," it was said; "induce them to take up the hatchet against his majesty's rebellious subjects in America. It is a service of very great importance; fail not to exert every effort that may tend to accomplish it; use the utmost diligence and activity."

It was also the opinion at court that "the next word from Boston would be of some lively action, for General Gage would wish to make sure of his revenge."

The sympathy for America reached the king's own brother, the weak but amiable Duke of Gloucester. 1775.
July. In July, he crossed the channel, with the view to inspect the citadels along the eastern frontier of France. When he left Dover, nothing had been heard from America later than the retreat of the British from Concord, and the surprise at Ticonderoga. Metz, the strongest place on the east of France, was a particular object of his journey; and, as his tour was made with the sanction of Louis XVI., he was received there by the Count de Broglie as the guest of the king. Among the visitors on the occasion came a young man not yet eighteen, whom De Broglie loved with parental tenderness, Gilbert Motier de la Fayette. His father had fallen in his twenty-fifth year, in the battle of Minden, leaving his only child less than two years old. The boyish dreams of the orphan had been of glory and of liberty; at the college in Paris, at the academy of Versailles, no studies charmed him like tales of republics; rich by vast inheritances, and married at sixteen, he was haunted by a passion for roving the world as an adventurer to strike a blow for fame and freedom. A guest at the banquet in honor of the Duke of Gloucester, he listened with avidity to an authentic version of the uprising of the New England husbandmen. Reality had now brought before him something more wonderful than his brightest visions; the youthful nation, insurgent

against oppression and fighting for the right to govern itself, took possession of his imagination, and before he left the table the men of Lexington and Concord had won for America a volunteer in Lafayette.

In Paris, wits, philosophers, and coffee-house politicians were all to a man warm Americans, considering them as a brave people, struggling for natural rights, and endeavoring to rescue those rights from wanton violence; and that, having no representatives in parliament, they could owe no obedience to British laws. This argument they turned in all its different shapes, and fashioned into general theories.

The field of Lexington, followed by the taking of Ticonderoga, fixed the attention of the government of France. From the busy correspondence between Vergennes and the French embassy at London, it appeared that the British ministry were under a delusion in persuading themselves the Americans would soon tire; that the system of an exclusively maritime war was illusory, since America could so well provide for her wants within herself. Franklin, who was perfectly acquainted with the resources of Great Britain, was known to be more zealous than ever; he enjoyed at Versailles the reputation of being endowed by Heaven with qualities that made him the most fit to create a free nation, and to become the most celebrated among men.

Vergennes traced the relation of the American revolution to the history of the world. "The spirit of revolt," said he, "wherever it breaks out, is always a troublesome example. Moral maladies, as well as those of the physical system, can become contagious. We must be on our guard, that the independence which produces so terrible an explosion in North America may not communicate itself to points that interest us. We long ago made up our own mind to the results which are now observed; we saw with regret that the crisis was drawing near; we have a presentiment that it may be followed by more extensive consequences. We do not disguise from ourselves the aberrations which enthusiasm can encourage, and which fanaticism can effectuate."

1775.
July.

The contingent danger of a sudden attack on the French

possessions in the West Indies required precaution; and Louis XVI. thought it advisable at once to send an emissary to America, to watch the progress of the revolution.

This could best be done from England; and the ^{1775.} July 10. embassy at London, as early as the tenth of July, began the necessary preliminary inquiries. "England," such was the substance of its numerous reports to Vergennes, "is in a position from which she never can extricate herself. Either all rules are false, or the Americans will never again consent to become her subjects."

So judged the statesmen of France, on hearing of the retreat from Concord and the seizure of Ticonderoga.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

MAY, 1775.

A FEW hours after the surrender of Ticonderoga, the second continental congress met at Philadelphia. There among the delegates appeared Franklin and ^{1775.} May 10. Samuel Adams; John Adams and Washington and Richard Henry Lee; soon joined by Patrick Henry, and by George Clinton, Jay, and Jay's college friend, the younger Robert R. Livingston, of New York.

They formed no confederacy; they were not an executive government; they were not even a legislative body. They were committees from twelve colonies, deputed to consult on measures of conciliation, with no means of resistance to oppression beyond a voluntary agreement for the suspension of importations from Great Britain. They owed the use of a hall for their sessions to the courtesy of the carpenters of the city; there was not a foot of land on which they had the right to execute their decisions; and they had not one civil officer to carry them out, nor the power to appoint one. Nor was one soldier enlisted, nor one officer commissioned in their name. They had no treasury; and neither authority to lay a tax nor to borrow money. They had been elected, in part at least, by tumultuary assemblies, or bodies which had no recognised legal existence; they were intrusted with no powers but those of counsel; most of them were held back by explicit or implied instructions; and they represented nothing more solid than the unformed opinion of an unformed people. Yet they were encountered by the king's refusal to

act as a mediator, the decision of parliament to enforce its authority, and the actual outbreak of civil war. The waters had risen; the old roads were obliterated; and they must strike out a new path for themselves and for the continent.

The exigency demanded the instant formation of one great commonwealth and the declaration of independence. "They are in rebellion," said Edmund Burke; "and have done so much as to necessitate them to do a great deal more." Independence had long been the desire of Samuel Adams, and was already the reluctant choice of Franklin and of John Adams, from a conviction that it could not ultimately be avoided; but its immediate declaration was not possible. American law was the growth of necessity, not of the wisdom of individuals. It was not an acquisition from abroad; it was begotten from the American mind, of which it was a natural and inevitable but also a slow and gradual development. The sublime thought that there existed a united nation was yet to spring into being, to liberate the public spirit from allegiance to the past, and summon it to the creation of a state. But, before this could be well done, the new directing intelligence must represent the sum of the intelligence of twelve or thirteen provinces, inhabited by men not of English ancestry only, but intermixed with French, still more with Swedes, and yet more with Dutch and Germans; a society where Quakers, who held it wickedness to fight, stood over against Calvinists, whose religious creed encouraged resistance to tyranny; where freeholders, whose pride in their liberties and confidence in their power to defend the fields which their own hands had reclaimed, were checked by merchants whose treasures were afloat, and who feared a war as the foreboder of their own bankruptcy. Massachusetts might have come to a result with a short time for reflection; but congress must respect masses of men, composed of planters and small manufacturers, of artisans and farmers, one fifth of whom had for their mother tongue some other language than the English. Nor were they only of different nationalities. They were almost exclusively Protestant; but

those who were Protestants professed the most different religious creeds. To all these congress must have regard; and wait for the just solution from a sentiment superior to race and language, planted by God in the heart of mankind. The American constitution is the child of the whole people, and expresses a community of its thought and will. The nation proceeded not after the manner of inventors of mechanisms, but like the Divine Architect; its work is self-made, and is neither a copy of any thing past, nor a product of external force, but the unfolding of its inmost nature.

1775.
May 10

The Americans were persuaded that they were set apart for the increase and diffusion of civil and religious liberty; chosen to pass through blessings and through trials, through struggles and through joy, to the glorious fulfilment of their great duty of establishing freedom in the New World, and setting up an example to the Old. But, by the side of this creative impulse, the love of the mother country lay deeply seated in the descendants of British ancestry, and this love was strongest in the part of the country where the collision had begun. The attachment was moreover justified; for the best part of their culture was derived from England, which had bestowed on them milder, more tolerant, and more equal governments than the distant colonies of other European powers had known.

When congress met, it was as hard to say of its members as of their constituents, whether they were most swayed by loyal attachment to the country from which the most of them sprung, or by the sense of oppression. The parent land which they loved was an ideal England, preserving as its essential character, through all accidents of time and every despotic tendency of a transient ministry, the unchanging attachment to liberty. Of such an England they cherished the language, the laws, and the people; and they would not be persuaded that independence of her was become the only mode of preserving their inherited rights. In this divided state of their affections, the unpreparedness of the country for war, and the imperfection of the powers with which they were intrusted, devotedness to

the old relations weighed against the call of freedom to the new, and forbade any change not demanded by instant necessity.

They came together thus undecided, and they long remained undecided. They struggled against every forward movement, and made none but by compulsion. Not by foresight, nor by the preconceived purpose of themselves or their constituents, but by the natural succession of inevitable events, it became their office to inaugurate a union and constitute a nation.

The British troops from Boston had invaded the country, had wasted stores which were the property of the province, had burnt and destroyed private property, had shed innocent blood; the people of Massachusetts had justly risen in arms, accepted aid from the neighboring colonies, and besieged the British army. On the eleventh, the consideration of the report of the agents of congress on their petition to the king gave way to the graver narrative of the deeds of the nineteenth of April, and their consequences. The members listened with sympathy, and their approval of the conduct of Massachusetts was unanimous. But as that province, without directly asking the continent to adopt the army which she had assembled, entreated direction and assistance; and as the answer might involve an ultimate declaration of independence, as well as the immediate use of the credit and resources of all the colonies, the subject was reserved for careful deliberation in a committee of the whole.

On the thirteenth, Lyman Hall presented himself from Georgia as a delegate for the parish of St. John's, and was gladly admitted with the right to vote, except when the question should be taken by colonies.

The first important decision of congress related to New York. The city and county on the fifteenth asked how to conduct themselves with regard to the regiments which were known to be under orders to that place; and, with the sanction of Jay and his colleagues, they were instructed not to oppose the landing of the troops, but not to suffer them to erect fortifications; to act

on the defensive but for the protection of the inhabitants and their property, to repel force by force.

The scrupulous timidity which could suffer the king's forces to possess themselves of the most important post in America provoked expressions of surprise from Edmund Burke. But no means existed to prevent the disembarkation of British regiments. The city was at the mercy of the power which commanded the water; and which, on any sudden conflict, could have sent a superior army into its streets.

The advice of the continental congress was pregnant with embarrassments; for it recognised the existing royal government of New York, and tolerated its governor and all naval and military officers, contractors, and Indian agents, in the peaceful discharge of their functions. The rule was laid down for the province, before its own congress could come together; and, when they assembled, they could but conform to it. All parties tacitly agreed to adjourn the employment of force. Towards the royal government the colonists manifested courteous respect; avoiding every decision which should invite attack or make reconciliation impossible. They allowed the British vessel of war the "Asia" to be supplied with provisions, but restrained the intercourse between the ship and the shore. They disapproved the act of the people in seizing the king's arms. To Guy Johnson they offered protection, if he and the Indians under his superintendency would promise neutrality. Sending to Massachusetts their warmest wishes, they made it their first object "to withstand the encroachments of ministerial tyranny;" but they continued to "labor for the restoration of harmony between the colonies and the parent state," having done every thing to avoid war, except surrendering the rights of the province of New York; and trusting that, in the hour of need, their present forbearance would insure the union of the people whom they represented.

In conformity with this policy, Jay made the motion for a second petition to the king.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE REVOLUTION EMANATES FROM THE PEOPLE.

MAY, 1775.

THE motion of Jay was for many days the subject of private and earnest discussion; but congress was still irresolute, when on the eighteenth of May they received the news of the taking of Ticonderoga. The achievement was not in harmony with their advice to New York; they for the time rejected the thought of invading Canada, and they were inclined even to abandon the conquest already made; though as a precaution they proposed to withdraw to the head of Lake George all the captured cannon and munitions of war, which on the restoration of peace were to be scrupulously returned.

For many days the state of the union continued to engage the attention of congress in a committee of the whole. The bolder minds, yet not even all the delegates from New England, discerned the tendency of events towards an entire separation of the colonies from Britain. In the wide division of opinions, the decision appeared for a time to rest on South Carolina; but the delegates from that province, no less than from the others of the south, like the central colonies, nourished the hope of peace, for which they desired to make one more petition. Vain illusion! The unappeasable malice of the supporters of the ministry was bent on the most desperate and cruel efforts, while every part of the continent rung the knell of colonial subjection. A new nation was bursting into life.

Boston was so strictly beleaguered that it was only from the islands in and near the harbor that fodder, or straw, or fresh meat could be obtained for the British army. On

Sunday morning, the twenty-first, about sunrise, it was discovered that they were attempting to secure ^{1775.} May 21. the hay on Grape Island. Three alarm guns were fired; the drums beat to arms; the bells of Weymouth and Braintree were set a-ringing; and the men of Weymouth and Braintree and Hingham, and of other places, to the number of two thousand, swarmed to the seaside. Warren, ever the bravest among the brave, ever present where there was danger, came also. After some delay, a lighter and a sloop were obtained, and the Americans eagerly jumped on board. The younger brother of John Adams was one of the first to push off and land on the island. The English retreated, while the Americans set fire to the hay.

On the twenty-fifth, Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne ^{May 25.} arrived with re-enforcements. They brought angling-rods, and they found themselves pent up in a narrow peninsula; they had believed themselves sure of taking possession of a continent, with a welcome from the great body of the people, and they had no reception but as enemies, and no outlet from town but by the sea.

Noddle's Island, now East Boston, and Hog Island were covered with hay and cattle, with sheep and horses. About eleven in the morning of the twenty-seventh, ^{May 27} twenty or thirty men passed from Chelsea to Hog Island and thence to Noddle's Island, and drove off or destroyed a great deal of stock. A schooner and a sloop, followed by a party of marines in boats, were sent from the British squadron to arrest them. The Americans retreated to Hog Island, and cleared it of more than three hundred sheep, besides cows and horses. They then drew up on Chelsea Neck, and by nine in the evening received re-enforcements, with two small four-pounders. Putnam took the command, and Warren was present. Cheered by such leaders, they kept up an attack till eleven at night, when the schooner was deserted. At daybreak it was boarded by the provincials, who carried off four four-pounders and twelve swivels, and then set it on fire. The English lost twenty killed and fifty wounded; the provincials had but four wounded, and those slightly.

Encouraged by these successes, the New Englanders stripped every island between Chelsea and Point Alderton of cattle and forage, and burned down the light-house at the entrance of Boston harbor. They were as ready for partisan enterprises on the water as on land; if they could only get gunpowder, they were confident of driving off the British.

On the northern frontier, the possession of Ticonderoga and Crown Point stimulated the enterprise of the settlers of Vermont. A schooner, called for the occasion "Liberty," was manned and armed; and Arnold, who had had experience at sea, took the command. With a fresh southerly wind, he readily passed the lake; early on the morning of the eighteenth, at the head of a party in boats, he surprised a sergeant and twelve men, and captured them, their arms, two serviceable brass field-pieces, and a British sloop which lay in the harbor of St. John's. In about an hour, the wind suddenly shifted; and, with a strong breeze from the north, Arnold returned with his prizes.

1775.
May 18.

Ethan Allen, who desired not to be outdone, thought with one hundred men to take possession of St. John's. The scheme was wild, and he was compelled to retire before a superior force; but, preserving his boastful courage, he wrote to congress: "Had I but five hundred men with me, I would have marched to Montreal."

The whole population west of the Green Mountains was interested to keep possession of Ticonderoga. Every man within fifty miles was desired by Arnold to repair to that post or to Crown Point with intrenching tools and all the powder and good arms that could be found. At the rumor of the proposed abandonment of their conquest, a loud protest was uttered unanimously by the foresters. "It is bad policy," said Ethan Allen, "to fear the resentment of an enemy." "Five hundred families," wrote Arnold, "would be left at the mercy of the king's troops and the Indians." The Massachusetts congress remonstrated; while Connecticut, with the consent of New York, ordered one thousand of her sons to march as speedily as possible to the defence of the two fortresses. The command of Lake Champlain

was the best security against an attack from Indians and Canadians. Carleton, the governor of Canada, was using his utmost efforts to form a body capable of protecting the province. Officers from the French Canadian nobility were taken into pay; the tribes nearest to the frontiers of the English settlements were tampered with; in North-western New York, Guy Johnson was employing all his activity in insulating the settlers in Cherry Valley, winning the favor and support of the Six Nations, and duping the magistrates of Schenectady and Albany; while La Corne Saint-Luc, the old French superintendent of the Indians of Canada, a man who joined reflective malice to the remorseless cruelty of the savage, sent belts to the northern tribes as far as the falls of St. Mary and Michilimackinac, to engage the ruthless hordes to take up arms, and distress the people along their extended frontier, till they should be driven to the British for protection.

Beyond the Alleghanies, a commonwealth was rising on the banks of the Kentucky River; and by the principles on which it was formed it renounced dependence on Britain.

Henderson and his associates had, during the winter, negotiated a treaty with the Cherokees for the land between the Ohio, the Cumberland Mountains, the Cumberland River, and the Kentucky River; on the seventeenth of March they received their deed. To this terri-^{1775.}
tary, Daniel Boone, with a body of enterprising com-_{Mar. 17.}panions, proceeded at once to mark out a path up Powell's valley, and through mountains and canebrakes beyond. On the twenty-fifth of the same month, they were waylaid by Indians, who killed two men and wounded another very severely. Two days later, the savages killed and scalped two more. "Now," wrote Daniel Boone, "is the time to keep the country while we are in it. If we give way now, it will ever be the case;" and he pressed forward to the Kentucky River. There, on the first of April, at the distance of about sixty yards from its west bank, near the mouth of Otter Creek, he began a stockade fort, which took the name of Boonesborough. The fathers of the colony called it Transylvania; their titles to their

lands they rested on occupancy, and a deed from head warriors of the Cherokees, in conflict with British authority which suffered no one but the king to treat with the natives for land. The commonwealth of Kentucky began with independence. Richard Calloway was one of the founders of Kentucky and one of its early martyrs. In the town of St. Asaph resided John Floyd, a surveyor, who emigrated from South-western Virginia; an able writer, respected for his culture and dignity of manner; of innate good-breeding; ready to defend the weak; to follow the trail of the savage; heedless of his own life, if he could recover women and children who had been made captive; destined to do good service, and survive the dangers of western life till American independence should be fought for and won. At Boiling Spring lived James Harrod, the same who, in 1774, had led a party of forty-one to Harrodsburg, and during the summer of that year had built the first log cabin in Kentucky; a tall, erect, and resolute backwoodsman; unlettered, but not ignorant; intrepid, yet gentle; revered for energy and for benevolence; always caring for others, as a father, brother, and protector; unsparing of himself; never weary of kind offices to those around him; the first to pursue a stray horse, or to go to the rescue of prisoners; himself a skilful hunter, for whom the rifle had a companionship and the wilderness a charm; so that in age his delight was in excursions to the distant range of the receding buffaloes, till at last he plunged into the remote forest, and was never heard of more.

1775.
May.

The state, now that it has become great and populous, honors the memory of Boone the simple-hearted man, who is best known as its pioneer. He was kindly in his nature, and never wronged a human being, not even an Indian, nor, indeed, animal life of any kind. "I with others have fought Indians," he would say, "but I do not know that I ever killed one; if I did, it was in battle, and I never knew it." He was no hater of them, and never desired their extermination. In woodcraft, he was acknowledged to be the first among men. This led him to love solitude, and habitually to hover on the frontier, with no abiding place; accompanied

by the wife of his youth, who was the companion of his long life and travel. When at last death put them both to rest, Kentucky reclaimed their bones from their graves far up the Missouri, and now they lie buried above the cliffs of the Kentucky River, overlooking the lovely valley of the capital of that commonwealth. Around them are emblems of wilderness life; the turf of the blue grass lies lightly above them; and they are laid with their faces turned upward and westward, and their feet toward the setting sun.

A like spirit of independence prevailed in the highlands which hold the head-springs of the Yadkin and the Catawba. The region was peopled chiefly by Presbyterians of Scotch-Irish descent, who brought to the New World the creed, the spirit of resistance, and the courage of the covenanters.

The people of the county of Mecklenburg had carefully observed the progress of the controversy with Britain; and, during the winter, political meetings had repeatedly been held in Charlotte. That town had been chosen for the seat of the Presbyterian college, which the legislature of North Carolina had chartered, but which the king had disallowed; and it was the centre of the culture of that part of the province. The number of houses in the village was not more than twenty; but the district was already well settled by herdsmen who lived apart on their farms.

Some time in May, 1775, they received the news of ^{1775.} May. the address, which in the preceding February had been presented to the king by both houses of parliament, and which declared the American colonies to be in a state of actual rebellion. This was to them the evidence that the crisis in American affairs was come, and the people proposed among themselves to abrogate all dependence on the royal authority. But the militia companies were sworn to allegiance; and "how," it was objected, "can we be absolved from our oath?" "The oath," it was answered, "binds only while the king protects." At the instance of Thomas Polk, the commander of the militia of the county, two delegates from each company were called together in Charlotte, as a representative committee. Before their consultations had ended, the message of the innocent blood shed at Lexington came

up from Charleston, and inflamed their zeal. They were impatient that their remoteness forbade their direct activity ; had it been possible, they would have sent a hundred bullocks from their fields to the poor of Boston. No minutes of the committee are known to exist, but the result of their deliberations, framed with superior skill, precision, and comprehensiveness, remains as the monument of their wisdom and their courage. Among the delegates to that memorable assembly was Ephraim Brevard, one of a numerous family of patriot brothers, himself in the end a martyr to the public cause. Trained in the college at Princeton, ripened among the brave Presbyterians of middle Carolina, he digested the system which was then adopted, and which formed in effect a declaration of independence, as well as a system of government. "All laws and commissions confirmed by or derived from the authority of the king or parliament," such are the well-considered words of these daring statesmen, "are annulled and vacated ; all commissions, civil and military, heretofore granted by the crown to be exercised in the colonies, are void ; the provincial congress of each province, under the direction of the great continental congress, is invested with all legislative and executive powers within the respective provinces, and no other legislative or executive power does or can exist at this time, in any part of these colonies. As all former laws are now suspended in this province, and the congress has not yet provided others, we judge it necessary, for the better preservation of good order, to form certain rules and regulations for the internal government of this county, until laws shall be provided for us by the congress."

1775.

May.

In accordance with these principles, the freemen of the county formed themselves into nine military companies, electing their own officers. Judicial powers were conferred on men to be singled out by the vote of the companies, two from each of them ; the whole number of eighteen constituting a court of appeal. The tenure alike of military and civil officers was "the pleasure of their several constituents." All public and county taxes, all quitrents to the crown, were sequestered ; and it was voted that

persons receiving new commissions from the king, or exercising old ones, should be dealt with as enemies of the country.

The resolves were made binding on all, and were to be enforced till the provincial congress should otherwise ordain, or the British parliament should resign its arbitrary pretensions with respect to America. At the same time, the militia companies were directed to provide themselves with arms; and Thomas Polk and Joseph Kenedy were appointed to purchase flints, lead, and powder.

On the thirty-first of May, the resolutions were ^{1775.} signed by Brevard as clerk of the committee, and ^{May 31.} were adopted by the people with the enthusiasm which springs from the combined influence of religion and the love of civil liberty. Thus was Mecklenburg county, in North Carolina, separated from the British empire. The resolves were transmitted with all speed to be printed in Charleston. They startled the royal governors of Georgia and North Carolina, by whom they were forwarded to the king; and they were despatched to the continental congress, that the world might know their authors had renounced their allegiance to the king of Great Britain, and had constituted a government for themselves.

The messenger stopped on his way at Salisbury; ^{June.} and there, to a crowd round the court-house, the resolves were read and approved. The western counties were the most populous part of North Carolina; and the royal governor had flattered himself and the king with the fullest assurances of their support. "I have no doubt," said he, "that I might command their best services at a word on any emergency. I consider I have the means in my own hands to maintain the sovereignty of this country to my royal master in all events." And now he was obliged to transmit the resolutions of Mecklenburg, which he described as the boldest of all, "most traitorously declaring the entire dissolution of the laws and constitution, and setting up a system of rule and regulation subversive of his majesty's government."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CONGRESS OFFERS TO NEGOTIATE WITH THE KING.

MAY, 1775.

FAR different was the spirit of the continental congress. The unexpected outbreak of war compelled them
1775. to adopt some system of defence; but many of its
May. members still blinded themselves with the hope of reconciliation, and no measures for the vigorous prosecution of hostilities could be carried with unanimity, except after the concession of a second petition to the king.

Washington foresaw the long and bloody contest which must precede the successful vindication of the liberties of America. Before the excursion to Concord, he had avowed to his friends "his full intention to devote his life and fortune" to the cause; and he manifested his conviction of the imminence of danger by appearing at the debates in his uniform as an officer. He had read with indignation the taunts uttered in parliament on the courage of his countrymen; he now took a personal pride in the rising of New England, and the precipitate retreat of Percy, which he thought might "convince Lord Sandwich that the Americans would fight for their liberties and property." "Unhappy it is," said he, "to reflect that a brother's sword has been sheathed in a brother's breast, and that the once happy and peaceful plains of America are either to be drenched with blood or inhabited by slaves. Sad alternative! But can a virtuous man hesitate in his choice?" Washington never hesitated; but he was too modest to demand a deference to his opinion.

The delegates from New England, especially those from Massachusetts, could bring no remedy to the prevailing indecision; for they suffered from insinuations that they

represented a people who were republicans in their principles of government and fanatics in their religion ; and they wisely avoided the appearance of importunity or excess in their demands.

Franklin, who knew with certainty that every method of peaceful entreaty had been exhausted, supported the boldest measures, and reproved irresoluteness and delay. "Make yourselves sheep," he would say, "and the wolves will eat you ;" and again, "God helps them who help themselves ;" and, insisting on the absolute necessity of armed resistance, "United," he said, "we are well able to repel force by force." Thus "he encouraged the revolution," yet he betrayed no desire to rule the intention of congress or bias it by his personal complaints or persuasions ; wishing independence, not as a victory of one party over another, but as the spontaneous action of a united people. The people of the continent, taken collectively, had not as yet ceased to cling to their old relations with their parent land, and so far from scheming independence, now that it was become inevitable, they still longed that the necessity for it might pass by.

1775.
May.

In this state of things, the man for the occasion was Dickinson, who wanted nothing but energy in action to secure to him one of the highest places among the statesmen of the world, and who had no cause to fear an effective opposition, now that he seconded the motion of Jay for one more petition to the king. The province of which he was the representative was the third in numbers, wealth, and importance ; its capital city, distinguished by the presence of the congress, was the largest in the land. The honest scruples of the Quakers merited consideration. The proprietary, and his numerous and powerful friends, rallied a party which offered all its influence to promote a successful intercession with the king ; and, though Mifflin expressed impatience, the instructions of Pennsylvania to its delegates in congress looked primarily to a continued union with Britain. Moreover, as the delegates from South Carolina declined giving advice, which would have implied an abandonment of every hope of peace, there could be no efficient opposi-

tion to the policy of again seeking the restoration of American liberty through the mediation of the king.

For a succession of days, the state of the colonies continued to be the subject of earnest discussion; but, through all the vacillations of hesitancy, the determination to sustain Massachusetts was never in doubt. Now that its charter had been impaired, Dickinson did not ask merely relief from parliamentary taxation; he required security against the encroachments of parliament on charters and laws. The distinctness with which he spoke satisfied Samuel Adams, who has left on record that the Farmer was a thorough Bostonian. On the twenty-fourth, the chair of the president becoming vacant by the departure of Peyton Randolph, John Hancock, of Massachusetts, was elected unanimously in his stead; and Harrison, of Virginia, who was classed among the conservative members, conducted him to the chair, saying: "We will show Britain how much we value her proscriptions;" for the proscription of Samuel Adams and Hancock had long been known, though it had not yet been proclaimed.

Yet no progress could be made in authorizing vigorous measures of defence, until the long deliberations in the committee of the whole had resulted in a compromise.

^{1775.}
May 25. Then, on the twenty-fifth, directions were given to the provincial congress in New York to preserve the communication between the city of New York and the country, by fortifying posts at the upper end of the island near King's Bridge, and on each side of Hudson River, in the Highlands. A post was also to be taken near Lake George.

On that same day, while Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne were entering Boston harbor, Duane moved in the committee of the whole "the opening of a negotiation in order to accommodate the unhappy disputes subsisting between Great Britain and the colonies, and that this be made a part of the petition to the king." "A negotiation once begun," said Colden, on hearing the news, "will give the people time to cool and feel the consequence of what they have already done, before the whole colonies become equally

desperate." The dangerous proposal produced a warm debate, which, at the adjournment, was not concluded.

On the morning of the twenty-sixth, the delegates from New Jersey presented the vote of the assembly of that colony, refusing separately to consider Lord North's proposition as contained in the resolution of the house of commons, and consigning the subject to the continental congress. The debate of the preceding day was renewed; the timid party prevailed; and it was resolved, "that, for the purpose of preserving the colonies in safety against every attempt to carry the unconstitutional and oppressive acts into execution by force of arms, they be immediately put into a state of defence; but that with a sincere desire of contributing by all the means, not incompatible with a just regard for their undoubted rights and true interests, to the promotion of this most desirable reconciliation, an humble and dutiful petition be presented to his majesty." 1775.
May.

To this extent the vote was unanimous. But the additional motion of Duane, which had no practical significance unless it was intended to accept the proposition of Lord North as the preliminary of an agreement, was carried against an unyielding opposition, and did not advance the prospect of a peaceful solution. The act altering the charter of Massachusetts was among those which the king was determined never to give up; and the majority in congress would never consent to sacrifice the charter of Massachusetts. The position which they chose was therefore weak and untenable. By their refusal to authorize the several colonies to institute governments of their own, they led the people to hope for an accommodation, and to neglect that steady system of resistance, which nothing but independence could justify or reward; while the king gained a respite, which he employed in collecting forces for subduing the insurrection; and the officers of the crown, wherever they kept up the appearance of moderation, were able to maintain themselves in authority and continue their intrigues.

All this while, congress had misgivings that their forbearance would be fruitless; and for that reason they coun-

selling New York to arm and train its militia, and to embody men for the protection of the inhabitants of that city against invasion. The support of the Canadians was entreated, for it was recognised that the impending conflict was not a war of Protestantism, but of humanity. On the twenty-ninth, the American congress, by the hand of Jay, addressed the Canadians; condoling with them that the Quebec act had gone into effect, so that their form of government was become a tyranny; and that they themselves, and their wives and their children, were made slaves. Appeals were directed to their pride, their affection for France, their courage, and their regard for the common welfare; but no adequate motive for rising was set before them. They feared not taxation by parliament, but the exclusive dominion of those of their conquerors who had settled amongst them. A union for independence, with a promise of institutions of their own, might have awakened their enthusiasm; but as Frenchmen they abhorred the Quebec act less than a fraudulent representative system like that of Ireland; and as Catholics it was grateful to them as a measure of emancipation.

The day after the adoption of Jay's address to the Canadians, Willing of Philadelphia, one of those who most struggled to thwart every step towards independence, brought before congress a paper containing propositions from Lord North, in the handwriting of Sir Grey Cooper, his under-secretary of the treasury. As the king had refused to treat with an American congress, the writing had no signature; but its authenticity was not questioned. With an appeal to affection for the king and country, it declared that the overture contained in the resolution of the house of commons was honorable for Great Britain and safe for the colonies; and that neither king, nor ministry, nor parliament, nor the nation, would admit of further relaxation; but that "a perfectly united ministry would, if necessary, employ the whole force of the kingdom to reduce the rebellious and refractory provinces and colonies." The arrogance of the language in which this ultimatum was couched should have nerved congress to its prompt and

unanimous rejection; but it was laid on the table of the body, which was bent on a petition to the king, and "a negotiation" with his ministers.

The month of May went by, and congress had not so much as advised Massachusetts to institute a ^{1775.} ^{May.} government of its own; it authorized no invasion of Canada, and yielded a reluctant assent to the act of Connecticut in garrisoning Ticonderoga and Crown Point. If great measures are to be adopted, the impulse must come from the people.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

MASSACHUSETTS ASKS FOR GEORGE WASHINGTON AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF.

JUNE 1—JUNE 17, 1775.

IN obedience to the injunctions of Lord North and Lord Dartmouth, who wished to reconcile some one of the
^{1775.}
^{June.} several colonial assemblies to their insidious offer, the first day of June, 1775, saw the house of burgesses of Virginia convened for the last time by a British governor. Peyton Randolph, the speaker, who had been attending as president the congress at Philadelphia, arrived at Williamsburg with an escort of independent companies of horse and foot, which eclipsed the pomp of the governor, and in the eyes of the people raised the importance of the newly created continental power. The session was opened by a speech recommending accommodation on the narrow basis of the resolve which the king had accepted. But the moment chosen for the discussion was inopportune; Dunmore's menace to unfurl the standard of a servile insurrection, and set the slaves upon their masters, with British arms in their hands, filled the south with horror and alarm. Besides, the retreat from Concord raised the belief that the American forces were invincible; and the spirit of resistance had so prevailed that some of the burgesses appeared in the uniform of the recently instituted provincial troops, wearing a hunting-shirt of coarse homespun linen over their clothes, and a woodman's axe by their sides.

The great civilian of Virginia came down from Albemarle with clear perceptions of public duty. When parliament oppressed the colonies by imposing taxes, Jefferson would

have been content with their repeal; when it mutilated the charter and laws of Massachusetts, he still hoped for conciliation through the wisdom of Chatham; but, after Lexington green had been stained with blood, he would no longer accept acts of repeal, unless accompanied by security against future aggression. 1775.
June.

The finances of Virginia were at this time much embarrassed; beside her paper currency afloat, she was burdened with the undischarged expenses of the Indian war of the previous year. The burgesses approved the conduct of that war, and provided the means of defraying its cost; but the governor would not pass their bill, because it imposed a specific duty of five pounds on the head, about ten per cent on the value, of every slave imported from the West Indies. The last exercise of the veto power by the king's representative in Virginia was for the protection of the slave-trade.

The assembly, having on the fifth thanked the delegates of the colony to the first congress, prepared to consider the proposal of the ministers. The governor grew uneasy, and sent them an apology for his removal of the powder belonging to the province. "I was influenced in this," said he, in a written message, "by the best of motives;" and he reminded them that he had ventured his life in the service of Virginia. But the burgesses took testimony which proved his avowed intention to raise, free, and arm slaves, extended their consultations through several days, and selected Jefferson to draft their reply.

While the house was thus employed, Dunmore received an express from Gage to acquaint him of his intention to publish a proclamation, proscribing Samuel Adams and Hancock; and, fearing he might be seized and detained as a hostage, he suddenly, in the night following the seventh of June, withdrew from the capital, and went on board the "Fowey" man-of-war, at York. He thus left the Ancient Dominion in the undisputed possession of its own inhabitants as effectually as if he had abdicated all power for the king; giving, as a reason for his flight, his apprehension of "falling a sacrifice to the daringness and atrociousness,

the blind and unmeasurable fury of great numbers of the people."

The burgesses paid no heed to his angry words; but, when they had brought their deliberations to a close, ^{1775.} ^{June.} they, on the twelfth of June, addressed to him as their final answer, that, "next to the possession of liberty, they should consider a reconciliation as the greatest of all human blessings, but that the resolution of the house of commons only changed the form of oppression, without lightening its burdens; that government in the colonies was instituted not for the British parliament, but for the colonies themselves; that the British parliament had no right to meddle with their constitution, or prescribe either the number or the pecuniary appointments of their officers; that they had a right to give their money without coercion, and from time to time; that they alone were the judges, alike of the public exigencies and the ability of the people; that they contended not merely for the mode of raising their money, but for the freedom of granting it; that the resolve to forbear levying pecuniary taxes still left unrepealed the acts restraining trade, altering the form of government of Massachusetts, changing the government of Quebec, enlarging the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty, taking away the trial by jury, and keeping up standing armies; that the invasion of the colonies with large armaments by sea and land was a style of asking gifts not reconcilable to freedom; that the resolution did not propose to the colonies to lay open a free trade with all the world; that, as it involved the interest of all the other colonies, they were bound in honor to share one fate with them; that the bill of Lord Chatham on the one part, and the terms of congress on the other, would have formed a basis for negotiation and a reconciliation; that, leaving the final determination of the question to the general congress, they will weary the king with no more petitions, the British nation with no more appeals." "What then," they ask, "remains to be done?" and they answer: "That we commit our injuries to the justice of the even-handed Being who doth no wrong."

"In my life," said Shelburne, as he read Jefferson's re-

port, "I was never more pleased with a state paper than with the assembly of Virginia's discussion of Lord North's proposition. It is masterly. But what I fear is that the evil is irretrievable." At Versailles, Vergennes was equally attracted by the wisdom and dignity of the document; he particularly noticed the insinuation that a compromise might be effected on the basis of the modification of the navigation acts; and, as he saw many ways opened of settling every difficulty, it was long before he could persuade himself that the infatuation of the British ministry was so blind as to neglect them all. From Williamsburg, Jefferson repaired to Philadelphia; but, before he arrived there, decisive communications had been received from Massachusetts.

That colony still languished in anarchy, from which they were ready to relieve themselves, if they could but wring the consent of the continental congress. "We hope," wrote they, in a letter which was read to that body on ^{1775.} June. the second of June, "you will favor us with your most explicit advice respecting the taking up and exercising the powers of civil government, which we think absolutely necessary for the salvation of our country." The regulation of the army was a subject of equal necessity. Uncounted and ungoverned, it was already in danger of vanishing like dew, or being dissolved by discontents. The incompetency of Ward for his station was observed by Joseph Warren, now president of the congress, by James Warren of Plymouth, by Gerry and others; every hour made it more imperative that he should be superseded; and yet his private virtues, and the fear of exciting dissensions in the province, required the measure to be introduced with delicacy and circumspection. The war was to become a continental war, the New England army a continental army; and that change in its relations offered the opportunity of designating a new commander in chief. To this end, the congress of Massachusetts formally invited the general congress "to assume the regulation and direction of the army, then collecting from different colonies for the defence of the rights of America." At the same time, Samuel Adams received a private letter from Joseph Warren, interpreting the words as a request

that the continent should "take the command of the army by appointing a generalissimo." The generalissimo whom Joseph Warren, Warren of Plymouth, Gerry, and others, desired, was Washington. The bearer of the letter, who had been commissioned to explain more fully the wishes of Massachusetts, was then called in. His communication had hardly been finished, when an express arrived with further news from the camp; that Howe and Clinton and Burgoyne had landed in Boston; that British re-enforcements were arriving; that other parts of the continent were threatened with war. A letter was also received and read from the congress of New Hampshire, remotely intimating that "the voice of God and nature" was summoning the colonies to independence.

1775.
June.

It was evident that congress would hesitate to adopt an army of New England men under a Massachusetts commander in chief. Virginia was the largest and oldest colony, and one of her sons was acknowledged to surpass all his countrymen in military capacity and skill. The choice of Washington as the general would at once be a concession to prejudice and in itself the wisest selection. On the earliest occasion John Adams explained the composition and character of the New England army, its merits and its wants, the necessity of its being adopted by the continent, and the consequent propriety that congress should name its general. Then, speaking for his constituents, he pointed out Washington as the man above all others fitted for that station, and best able to promote union. Samuel Adams seconded his colleague. The delegates from the Ancient Dominion, especially Pendleton, Washington's personal friend, disclaimed any wish that the officer whom Massachusetts had advanced should be superseded by a Virginian, and from delicacy declined the nomination of their own colleague. Washington himself had never aspired to the honor, though for some time he had been "apprehensive that he could not avoid the appointment."

The balloting for continental officers was delayed, that the members from New York might consult their congress on the nominations from that colony.

With an empire to found and to defend, congress had not as yet had the disposal of one penny of money. The army which beleaguered Boston had sent for gunpowder to every colony in New England, to individual counties and towns, to New York and still further south; but little was to be procured. In the urgency of extreme distress, congress undertook to borrow six thousand pounds, a little more than twenty-five thousand dollars, "for the use of America," to be applied to the purchase of gunpowder for what was now for the first time called *THE CONTINENTAL ARMY*.

In the arrangement of its committees and the distribution of business, it still sought to avoid alike a surrender of liberty and a declaration of independence; its policy was an armed defence, while waiting for a further answer from the king. On the seventh of June, one of its resolutions spoke of "the Twelve United Colonies," Georgia being not yet included; and the name implied an independent nation; but, on the eighth, it tardily recommended to Massachusetts not to institute a new government, but to intrust the executive power to the elective council, "until a governor of the king's appointment would consent to govern the colony according to its charter." For a province in a state of insurrection and war, a worse system could hardly have been devised; it was recommended because it offered the fewest obstacles to an early renewal of allegiance to the British crown.

The twelfth of June is a memorable day, for it ^{1775.} brought into the clearest light the difference between ^{June 12.} the dispositions of America and of the British government. On that day, Gage, under pretence of proclaiming a general pardon to the infatuated multitude, proscribed by name Samuel Adams and John Hancock, reserving them for condign punishment, as rebels and traitors, in terms which included as their abettors not only all who should remain in arms about Boston, but every member of the provincial government and of the continental congress. In the same breath he established martial law throughout Massachusetts. But his measures were in ludicrous contrast to his means. To give him some immediate increase of strength, vessels

were sent out to cruise off Sandy Hook, and turn to Boston transports which were on their way with four regiments to New York. In the former year, he had promised to reduce the colonies with a re-enforcement of but four regiments; he now called upon the British secretary of state to concentrate at Boston fifteen thousand men, of whom a part might be hunters, Canadians, and Indians; to send ten thousand more to New York; and seven thousand more, composed of regular troops with a large corps of Canadians and Indians, to act on the side of Lake Champlain. "We need not be tender of calling upon the savages," were his words to Dartmouth; some of the Indians, domiciled in Massachusetts, having strolled to the American camp to gratify curiosity or extort presents, he pretended to excuse the proposal which he had long meditated, by asserting that the Americans "had brought down as many Indians as they could collect."

1775.
June. The congress of New York had already taken every possible step to induce the Indians not to engage in the quarrel, had even offered protection to Guy Johnson, the superintendent, if he would but leave the Six Nations to their neutrality, and had prohibited the invasion of Canada; it now addressed to the merchants of that province the assurance "that the confederated colonies aimed not at independence," but only at freedom from taxation by authority of parliament. This is the moment when the general congress made its first appeal to the people of the twelve united colonies by an injunction to them to keep a fast on one and the same day, on which they were to recognise "King George III. as their rightful sovereign, and to look up to the supreme and universal superintending providence of the great Governor of the world for a gracious interposition of Heaven for the restoration of the invaded rights of America, and a reconciliation with the parent state." Every village, every family, whether on the seaside or in the forest, was thus summoned to give the most solemn attestation of their desire to end civil discord and "regard the things that belong to peace."

Measures were next taken for organizing and paying an

American continental army. At that moment troops might without effort have been enlisted for the war; congress ordered them to be enlisted only till the end of the year, before which time a favorable answer from the king was hoped for, and it made no provision for any other contingency. Washington, Schuyler, and others, were deputed to prepare the necessary rules and regulations. It was further resolved to enlist ten companies of expert riflemen, of whom six were to be formed in Pennsylvania, two in Maryland, and two in Virginia.

Then, on the fifteenth of June, it was voted to ^{1775.} appoint a general. Thomas Johnson, of Maryland, ^{June 15.} nominated George Washington; and, as he had been brought forward "at the particular request of the people in New England," he was elected by ballot unanimously.

Washington was then forty-three years of age. In stature he a little exceeded six feet; his limbs were sinewy and well-proportioned; his chest broad; his figure stately, blending dignity of presence with ease. His robust constitution had been tried and invigorated by his early life in the wilderness, the habit of occupation out of doors, and rigid temperance; so that few equalled him in strength of arm, or power of endurance, or noble horsemanship. His complexion was florid; his hair dark brown; his head in its shape perfectly round. His broad nostrils seemed formed to give expression and escape to scornful anger. His eyebrows were rayed and finely arched. His dark blue eyes, which were deeply set, had an expression of resignation, and an earnestness that was almost pensiveness. His forehead was sometimes marked with thought, but never with inquietude; his countenance was mild and pleasing and full of benignity.

At eleven years old left an orphan to the care of an excellent but unlettered mother, he grew up without learning. Of arithmetic and geometry he acquired just knowledge enough to be able to practise measuring land; but all his instruction at school taught him not so much as the orthography or rules of grammar of his own tongue. His culture was altogether his own work, and he was in the

strictest sense a self-made man ; yet from his early life he never seemed uneducated. At sixteen, he went into the wilderness as a surveyor, and for three years continued the pursuit, where the forests trained him, in meditative solitude, to freedom and largeness of mind ; and nature revealed to him her obedience to serene and silent laws. In his intervals from toil, he seemed always to be attracted to the best men, and to be cherished by them. Fairfax, his employer, an Oxford scholar, already aged, became his fast friend. He read little, but with close attention. Whatever he took in hand, he applied himself to with care ; and his papers, which have been preserved, show how he almost imperceptibly gained the power of writing correctly ; always expressing himself with clearness and directness, often with felicity of language and grace.

1775. When the frontiers on the west became disturbed,
June. he at nineteen was commissioned an adjutant-general with the rank of major. At twenty-one, he went as the envoy of Virginia to the council of Indian chiefs on the Ohio and to the French officers near Lake Erie. Fame waited upon him from his youth ; and no one of his colony was so much spoken of. He conducted the first military expedition from Virginia that crossed the Alleghanies. Braddock selected him as an aid, and he was the only man who came out of the disastrous defeat near the Monongahela, with increased reputation, which extended to England. The next year, when he was but four-and-twenty, "the great esteem" in which he was held in Virginia, and his "real merit," led the lieutenant-governor of Maryland to request that he might be "commissionated and appointed second in command" of the army designed to march to the Ohio ; and Shirley, the commander in chief, heard the proposal "with great satisfaction and pleasure," for "he knew no provincial officer upon the continent to whom he would so readily give that rank as to Washington." In 1758 he acted under Forbes as a brigadier, and but for him that general would never have crossed the mountains.

Courage was so natural to him that it was hardly spoken of to his praise ; no one ever at any moment of his life dis-

covered in him the least shrinking in danger; and he had a hardihood of daring which escaped notice, because it was so enveloped by superior calmness and wisdom.

His address was most easy and agreeable; his step firm and graceful; his air neither grave nor familiar. 1775.
June.

He was as cheerful as he was spirited, frank and communicative in the society of friends, fond of the fox-chase and the dance, often sportive in his letters, and liked a hearty laugh. "His smile," writes Chastellux, "was always the smile of benevolence." This joyousness of disposition remained to the last, though the vastness of his responsibilities was soon to take from him the right of displaying the impulsive qualities of his nature, and the weight which he was to bear up was to overlay and repress his gayety and openness.

His hand was liberal; giving quietly and without observation, as though he was ashamed of nothing but being discovered in doing good. He was kindly and compassionate, and of lively sensibility to the sorrows of others; so that, if his country had only needed a victim for its relief, he would have willingly offered himself as a sacrifice. But while he was prodigal of himself, he was considerate for others; ever parsimonious of the blood of his countrymen.

He was prudent in the management of his private affairs, purchased rich lands from the Mohawk valley to the flats of the Kanawha, and improved his fortune by the correctness of his judgment; but, as a public man, he knew no other aim than the good of his country, and in the hour of his country's poverty he refused personal emolument for his service.

His faculties were so well balanced and combined that his constitution, free from excess, was tempered evenly with all the elements of activity, and his mind resembled a well-ordered commonwealth; his passions, which had the intensest vigor, owned allegiance to reason; and, with all the fiery quickness of his spirit, his impetuous and massive will was held in check by consummate judgment. He had in his composition a calm, which gave him in moments of highest excitement the power of self-control, and enabled him to excel in patience, even when he had most cause for disgust. Washington was offered a command when there

was little to bring out the unorganized resources of the continent but his own influence, and authority was connected with the people by the most frail, most attenuated, scarcely discernible threads; yet, vehement as
^{1775.}
^{June.} was his nature, impassioned as was his courage, he so restrained his ardor that he never failed continuously to exert the attracting power of that influence, and never exerted it so sharply as to break its force.

In secrecy he was unsurpassed; but his secrecy had the character of prudent reserve, not of cunning or concealment. His great natural power of vigilance had been developed by his life in the wilderness.

His understanding was lucid, and his judgment accurate; so that his conduct never betrayed hurry or confusion. No detail was too minute for his personal inquiry and continued supervision; and at the same time he comprehended events in their widest aspects and relations. He never seemed above the object that engaged his attention, and he was always equal, without an effort, to the solution of the highest questions, even when there existed no precedents to guide his decision. In the perfection of the reflective powers, which he used habitually, he had no peer.

In this way he never drew to himself admiration for the possession of any one quality in excess, never made in council any one suggestion that was sublime but impracticable, never in action took to himself the praise or the blame of undertakings astonishing in conception, but beyond his means of execution. It was the most wonderful accomplishment of this man that, placed upon the largest theatre of events, at the head of the greatest revolution in human affairs, he never failed to observe all that was possible, and at the same time to bound his aspirations by that which was possible.

A slight tinge in his character, perceptible only to the close observer, revealed the region from which he sprung, and he might be described as the best specimen of manhood as developed in the south; but his qualities were so faultlessly proportioned that his whole country rather claimed him as its choicest representative, the most complete ex-

pression of all its attainments and aspirations. He studied his country and conformed to it. His countrymen felt that he was the best type of America, and rejoiced in it, and were proud of it. They lived in his life, and made his success and his praise their own.

Profoundly impressed with confidence in God's providence, and exemplary in his respect for the forms of public worship, no philosopher of the eighteenth century was more firm in the support of freedom of religious opinion, none more remote from bigotry; but belief in God, and trust in his overruling power, formed the essence of his character. Divine wisdom not only illumines the spirit, it inspires the will. Washington was a man of action, and not of theory or words; his creed appears in his life, not in his professions, which burst from him very rarely, and only at those great moments of crisis in the fortunes of his country, when earth and heaven seemed actually to meet, and his emotions became too intense for suppression; but his whole being was one continued act of faith in the eternal, intelligent, moral order of the universe. Integrity was so completely the law of his nature, that a planet would sooner have shot from its sphere than he have departed from his uprightness, which was so constant that it often seemed to be almost impersonal. "His integrity was the most pure, his justice the most inflexible I have ever known," writes 1775.
June. Jefferson; "no motives of interest or consanguinity, of friendship or hatred, being able to bias his decision."

They say of Giotto that he introduced goodness into the art of painting; Washington carried it with him to the camp and the cabinet, and established a new criterion of human greatness. The purity of his will confirmed his fortitude; and, as he never faltered in his faith in virtue, he stood fast by that which he knew to be just; free from illusions; never dejected by the apprehension of the difficulties and perils that went before him, and drawing the promise of success from the justice of his cause. Hence he was persevering, leaving nothing unfinished; devoid of all taint of obstinacy in his firmness; seeking, and gladly receiving advice, but immovable in his devotedness to right.

Of a "retiring modesty and habitual reserve," his ambition was no more than the consciousness of his power, and was subordinate to his sense of duty; he took the foremost place, for he knew from inborn magnanimity that it belonged to him, and he dared not withhold the service required of him; so that, with all his humility, he was by necessity the first, though never for himself or for private ends.

1775.
June.

He loved fame, the approval of coming generations, the good opinion of his fellow-men of his own time, and he desired to make his conduct coincide with their wishes; but not fear of censure, not the prospect of applause, could tempt him to swerve from rectitude, and the praise which he coveted was the sympathy of that moral sentiment which exists in every human breast, and goes forth only to the welcome of virtue.

There have been soldiers who have achieved mightier victories in the field, and made conquests more nearly corresponding to the boundlessness of selfish ambition; statesmen who have been connected with more startling upheavals of society; but it is the greatness of Washington that in public trusts he used power solely for the public good; that he was the life and moderator and stay of the most momentous revolution in human affairs, its moving impulse and its restraining power. Combining the centripetal and the centrifugal forces in their utmost strength and in perfect relations, with creative grandeur of instinct he held ruin in check, and renewed and perfected the institutions of his country. Finding the colonies disconnected and dependent, he left them such a united and well-ordered commonwealth as no visionary had believed to be possible. So that it has been truly said: "He was as fortunate as great and good."

This also is the praise of Washington: that never in the tide of time has any man lived who had in so great a degree the almost divine faculty to command the confidence of his fellow-men and rule the willing. Wherever he became known, in his family, his neighborhood, his county, his native state, the continent, the camp, civil life, among the common people, in foreign courts, throughout the civilized

world, and even among the savages, he beyond all other men had the confidence of his kind.

Washington saw at a glance the difficulties of the position to which he had been chosen. He was appointed by a government which, in its form, was one of the worst of all possible governments in time of peace, and was sure to reveal its defects still more plainly in time of war. It was inchoate and without an executive head; the several branches of administration, if to be conducted at all, were to be conducted by separate, ever changing, and irresponsible committees; and all questions of legislation and of action ultimately decided by the one ill-organized body of men, who, in respect of granted powers, were too feeble even to originate advice. They were not the representatives of a union; they alone constituted the union of which, as yet, there was no other bond. One whole department of government, the judicial, was entirely wanting. So was, in truth, the executive. The congress had no ability whatever to enforce a decree of their own; they had no revenue, and no authority to collect a revenue; they had none of the materials of war; they did not own a cannon, nor a pound of powder, nor a tent, nor a musket; they had no regularly enlisted army, and had even a jealousy of forming an army, and depended on the zeal of volunteers, or of men to be enlisted for less than seven months. There were no experienced officers, and no methods projected for obtaining them. Washington saw it all. He was in the enjoyment of fame; he wished not to forfeit the esteem of his fellow-men; and his eye glistened with a tear, as ^{1775.} June, he said in confidence to Patrick Henry on occasion of his appointment: "This day will be the commencement of the decline of my reputation."

But this consideration did not make him waver. On the sixteenth of June, he appeared in his place in congress, and, after refusing all pay beyond his expenses, he spoke with unfeigned modesty: "As the congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. But I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in

the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with."

The next day, the delegates of all the colonies resolved unanimously in congress "to maintain and assist him, and adhere to him, the said George Washington, Esquire, with their lives and fortunes in the same cause."

By his commission, he was invested with the command over all forces raised or to be raised by the United Colonies, and with full power and authority to order the army as he should think for the good and welfare of the service, "in unforeseen emergencies using his best circumspection, and advising with his council of war;" and he was instructed to take "special care that the liberties of America receive no detriment."

Washington knew that he must depend for success on a steady continuance of purpose in an imperfectly united continent, and on his personal influence over separate and half-formed governments, with most of which he was wholly unacquainted. He foresaw a long and arduous struggle; but a secret consciousness of his power bade him not to fear; and, whatever might be the backwardness of others, he never admitted the thought of sheathing his sword or resigning his command, till the work of vindicating American liberty should be done. To his wife he unbosomed his inmost mind: "I hope my undertaking this service is designed to answer some good purpose. I rely confidently on that Providence which has heretofore preserved and been bountiful to me."

His acceptance changed the aspect of affairs. John Adams, looking with complacency upon "the modest and virtuous, the amiable, generous, and brave general," as the choice of Massachusetts, said: "This appointment will have a great effect in cementing the union of these colonies." "The general is one of the most important characters of the world; upon him depend the liberties of America." All hearts turned with affection towards Washington. This is he who was raised up to be, not the head of a party, but the father of his country.

1775.
June.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

PRESCOTT OCCUPIES BREED'S HILL.

JUNE 16-17, 1775.

THE army round Boston, of which Washington in person was soon to take command, was "a mixed multitude," as yet "under very little discipline, order, or government." The province of Massachusetts had no executive head, and no unity even in the military department. Ward was enjoined to obey the decisions of the committee of safety, whose directions were intercepted on their way to him by the council of war. Thus want of confidence multiplied the boards to which measures were referred, till affairs wore an aspect of chaos. The real strength of the forces was far inferior to the returns. There were the materials for a good army in the private men, of whom great numbers were able-bodied, active, and unquestionably brave, and there were also officers worthy of leading such men. But, by a vicious system of recruiting, commissions were given to those who raised companies or regiments; and many had crowded themselves into place from love of rank or pay, without experience, spirit, or military capacity. This also led to the engagement of unsuitable men, and in some cases to false muster-rolls. In nearly every company, many were absent with or without leave. No efficient discipline or proper subordination was established. Canvas and sails, collected from the seaport towns, had furnished a small but insufficient supply of tents, and troops were quartered in the colleges and private houses. There was a want of money and of clothing; of engineers; but, above all, of ammunition. The scanty store of powder was reserved almost exclusively for the

1775.
June.

small arms, and used with great frugality. "Confusion and disorder reigned in every department, which in a little time must have ended either in the separation of the army or fatal contests with one another."

Of the soldiers from the other colonies, the New Hampshire regiments only had as yet been placed under the command of Ward. The arrival of Greene quieted a rising spirit of discontent, which had threatened to break up the detachment from Rhode Island; but some of their captains and many subalterns continued to neglect their duty, from fear of offending the soldiers, from indolence, or from obstinacy. Of the men of Connecticut, a part were with Spencer at Roxbury; several hundred at Cambridge with Putnam, the second brigadier, who was distinguished for bold advice, alertness, and popular favor; and was seen constantly on horseback or on foot, working with his men or encouraging them.

1775.

June.

The infirmities of Ward combined to increase the caution which the state of the camp made imperative. He was unwilling to hazard defeat, and inclined to await the solution of events from the negotiations of the continental congress. It was sometimes even suggested that the Americans could never hold Cambridge, and that they had better go back and fortify on the heights of Brookline. "We must hold Cambridge," was Putnam's constant reply; and he repeatedly but vainly asked leave to advance the lines to Prospect Hill. Yet the army never doubted its ability to avenge the public wrongs; and danger and war were becoming attractive.

The British forces gave signs of shame at their confinement and inactivity. "Bloody work" was expected, and it was rumored that they were determined, as far as they could, to lay the country waste with fire and sword. The secretary of state frequently assured the French minister at London that they would now take the field, and that the Americans would soon tire of the strife. The king of England, who had counted the days necessary for the voyage of the transports, was "trusting soon to hear that Gage had dispersed the rebels, destroyed their works, opened

a communication with the country," and imprisoned the leading patriots of the colony.

The peninsula of Boston, at that time connected with the mainland by a very low and narrow isthmus, had at its south a promontory then known as Dorchester Neck, with three hills commanding the town. At the north lay the peninsula of Charlestown, in length not much exceeding a mile; in width, a little more than a half mile, but gradually diminishing towards the causeway, which kept asunder the Mystic and the Charles, where each of those rivers meets an arm of the sea. Near its north-
eastern termination rose the round smooth acclivity of Bunker Hill, one hundred and ten feet high, commanding both peninsulas. The high land then fell away by a gradual slope for about seven hundred yards, and just north by east of the town of Charlestown it reappeared with an elevation of about seventy-five feet, which bore the name of Breed's Hill. Whoever should hold the heights of Dorchester and Charlestown would be masters of Boston.

1775.
June.

About the middle of May, a joint committee from that of safety and the council of war, after a careful examination, recommended that several eminences within the limits of the town of Charlestown should be occupied, and that a strong redoubt should be raised on Bunker Hill. A breastwork was thrown up across the road near Prospect Hill; and Bunker Hill was to have been fortified as soon as adequate supplies of artillery and powder should be obtained; but delay would have rendered even the attempt impossible. Gage, with the three major-generals, was determined to extend his lines north and south, over Dorchester and Charlestown; and, as he proposed to begin with Dorchester, Howe was to land troops on the point; Clinton in the centre; while Burgoyne was to cannonade from Boston Neck. The operations, it was believed, would be very easy; and their execution was fixed for the eighteenth of June.

This design became known in the American camp, and raised a desire to anticipate the movement. Accordingly, on the fifteenth of June, the Massachusetts committee of

safety informed the council of war that, in their opinion, Dorchester Heights should be fortified; and they recommended unanimously to establish a post on Bunker Hill. Ward, who was bound to comply with the instructions of his superiors, proceeded to execute the advice.

The decision was so sudden that no fit preparation could be made. The nearly total want of ammunition rendered the service desperately daring; in searching for an officer suited to such an enterprise, the choice fell on William Prescott, of Pepperell, colonel of a regiment from the northwest of Middlesex, who himself was solicitous to
^{1775.}
^{June 16.} assume the perilous duty; and on the evening after the vote of the committee of safety, a night and day only in advance of the purpose of Gage, a brigade of one thousand men was placed under his command.

Soon after sunset, the party, composed of three hundred of his own regiment, detachments from those of Frye and of Bridge, and two hundred men of Connecticut, under the gallant Thomas Knowlton, of Ashford, were ordered to parade on Cambridge common. They were a body of husbandmen, not in uniform, bearing for the most part no other arms than fowling-pieces which had no bayonets, and carrying in horns and pouches their stinted supply of powder and bullets. Langdon, the president of Harvard College, who was one of the chaplains to the army, prayed with them fervently; then, as the late darkness of the midsummer evening closed in, they marched for Charlestown in the face of the proclamation, issued only four days before, by which all persons taken in arms against their sovereign were threatened under martial law with death by the cord as rebels and traitors. Prescott and his party were the first to defy the menace. For himself, he was resolved "never to be taken alive."

When, with hushed voices and silent tread, they and the wagons laden with intrenching tools had passed the narrow isthmus, Prescott called around him Richard Gridley, an experienced engineer, and the field officers, to select the exact spot for their earthworks. The committee of safety had proposed Bunker Hill; but Prescott had "received

orders to march to Breed's Hill." Heedless of personal danger, he obeyed the orders as he understood them; and with the ready assent of his companions, who were bent on straitening the English to the utmost, it was upon the latter eminence, nearest Boston and best suited to annoy the town and shipping in the harbor, that under the light of the stars the engineer drew the lines of a redoubt of nearly eight rods square. The bells of Boston had struck twelve before the first sod was thrown up. ^{1775.} June 17. Then every man of the thousand plied in his turn the pickaxe and spade, and with such expedition that the parapet soon assumed form and height, and capacity for defence. "We shall keep our ground," thus Prescott related that he silently revolved his position, "if some screen, however slight, can be completed before discovery." The "Lively" lay in the ferry between Boston and Charlestown, and a little to the eastward were moored the "Falcon," and the "Somerset," a ship of the line; the veteran not only set a watch to patrol the shore, but, bending his ear to every sound, twice repaired to the margin of the water, where he heard the drowsy sentinels from the decks of the men-of-war still cry: "All is well."

The few hours that remained of darkness hurried away, but not till the line of circumvallation was already closed. As day dawned, the seamen were roused to action; and every one in Boston was startled from slumber by the cannon of the "Lively" playing upon the redoubt. Citizens of the town, and British officers, and tory refugees, the kindred of the insurgents, crowded to gaze with wonder and surprise at the small fortress of earth freshly thrown up, and "the rebels," who were still plainly seen at their toil. A battery of heavy guns was forthwith mounted on Copp's Hill, which was directly opposite, at a distance of but twelve hundred yards, and an incessant shower of shot and bombs was rained upon the works; but Prescott, whom Gridley had forsaken, calmly considered how he could best continue his line of defence.

At the foot of the hill on the north was a slough, beyond which an elevated tongue of land, having few trees, covered

chiefly with grass, and intersected by fences, stretched away to the Mystic. Without the aid of an engineer, Prescott himself extended his line from the east side of the redoubt northerly for about twenty rods towards the bottom of the hill; but the men were prevented from completing it "by the intolerable fire of the enemy." Still, the cannonade from the battery and shipping could not dislodge them, though it was a severe trial to raw soldiers, unaccustomed to the noise of artillery. Early in the day, a private was killed and buried. To inspire confidence, Prescott mounted the parapet and walked leisurely backwards and forwards, examining the works and giving directions to the officers. One of his captains, perceiving his motive, imitated his example. From Boston, Gage with his telescope descried the commander of the party. "Will he fight?" asked the general of Willard, Prescott's brother-in-law, late a mandamus councillor, who was at his side. "To the last drop of his blood," answered Willard. As the British generals saw that every hour gave fresh strength to the intrenchments of the Americans, by nine o'clock ^{1775.} June 17. they deemed it necessary to alter the plan previously agreed upon, and to make the attack immediately on the side that could be soonest reached. Had they landed troops at the isthmus, as they might have done, the detachment on Breed's Hill would have had no chances of escape or relief.

The day was exceedingly hot, one of the hottest of the season. After their fatigues through the night, the American partisans might all have pleaded their unsuitness for action; some left the post, and the field officers, Bridge and Brickett, being indisposed, could render their commander but little service. Yet Prescott was dismayed neither by weariness nor desertion. "Let us never consent to being relieved," said he to his own regiment, and to all who remained; "these are the works of our hands, to us be the honor of defending them." He consented to despatch repeated messengers for re-enforcements and provisions; but at the hour of noon no assistance had appeared. His men had toiled all the night long, had broken their

fast only with what they had brought in their knapsacks the evening before, had, under a burning sky, without shade, amidst a storm of shot and shells, continued their labor all the morning, and were now preparing for a desperate encounter with a vastly superior force; yet no refreshments were sent them, and during the whole day they received not even a cup of cold water, nor so much as a single gill of powder. The agony of suspense was now the greater, because no more work could be done in the trenches; the tools were piled up in the rear, and the men were waiting, unemployed, till the fighting should begin.

The second messenger from Prescott, on his way to the head-quarters at Cambridge, was met by Putnam, who was hastening to Charlestown. The brigadier seems to have been justly impressed with the conviction that the successful defence of the peninsular not only required re-enforcements, but that intrenchments should be thrown up on the summit of Bunker Hill. He therefore rode up to the redoubt on Breed's Hill, where he did not appear again during the whole day, and asked of Prescott "that ^{1775.} _{June 17.} the intrenching tools might be sent off." It was done; but, of the large party who took them away, few returned; and the want of a sufficient force, and the rapid succession of events, left Putnam no leisure to fortify the crown of the higher hill.

Far different was the scene in Boston. To finished and abundant equipments of every kind, the British troops, though in number hardly more than five thousand effective men, added experience and exact discipline. Taking advantage of high water, the "Glasgow" sloop of war and two floating batteries had been moored where their guns raked the isthmus of Charlestown. Between the hours of twelve and one, by order of General Gage, boats and barges, manned by oars, all plainly visible to Prescott and his men, bore over the unruffled sheet of water from Long Wharf to Moulton's Point in Charlestown the fifth, the thirty-eighth, the forty-third, and the fifty-second regiments of infantry, with ten companies of grenadiers, ten of light infantry, and a proportion of field artillery, in all about two thousand

men. They were commanded by Major-general Howe, who was assisted by Brigadier-general Pigot. It was notified that Percy, pleading illness, let his regiment go without him. The British landed under cover of the shipping, on the outward side of the peninsular, near the Mystic, with a view to outflank the American party, surround them, and make prisoners of the whole detachment.

The way along the banks of the river to Prescott's rear lay open; he had remaining with him but about seven or eight hundred men, worn with toil and watching and hunger; he knew not how many were coming against him; his flank was unprotected; he saw no signs of reinforcements; the enemy had the opportunity to surround and crush his little band. "Never were men placed in a more dangerous position." But Howe, who was of a sluggish temperament, halted on the first rising ground, and sent back for more troops. The delay cost him dear.

When Prescott perceived the British begin to land on the point east by north from the fort, he made the best disposition of his scanty force; ordering the train of artillery with two field-pieces, and the Connecticut forces under Knowlton, "to go and oppose them."

About two hundred yards in the rear of the unfinished breastwork, a fence with two rails, of which the posts were set in a low stone wall, extended for three hundred yards or more towards the Mystic. The mowers had but the day before passed over the meadows, and the grass lay on the ground in cocks and windrows. There the men of Connecticut, in pursuance of Prescott's order, took their station. Nature had provided "something of a breastwork," or a ditch had been dug many years before. They grounded arms and made a slight fortification against musket-balls by interweaving the newly mown grass between the rails, and by carrying forward a post and rail-fence alongside of the first, and piling the fresh hay between the two. But the line of defence was still very far from complete. Nearer the water the bank was smooth and without obstruction, declining gently for sixty or eighty yards, where it fell off abruptly. Between the rail-fence and the unfinished breast-

work, the space was open and remained so; the slough at the foot of the hill guarded a part of the distance; nearly a hundred yards were left almost wholly unprotected.

Brooks, afterwards governor of Massachusetts, one of Prescott's messengers, had no mode of reaching headquarters but on foot. Having performed the long walk, he found the general anxious and perplexed. Ward saw very clearly the imprudence of risking a battle for which the army was totally unprepared. To the committee of safety which was in session, the committee of supplies expressed its concern at the "expenditure of powder;" "any great consumption by cannon might be ruinous;" and it is a fact that the Americans,—with companies incomplete in number, composed of "raw, irregular, and undisciplined troops," enlisted chiefly within six weeks, com-^{1775.}
manded, many of them, by officers unfit, ignorant, June 17.
and untried, gathered from four separate colonies, with no reciprocal subordination but from courtesy and opinion,—after collecting all the ammunition that could be obtained north of the Delaware, had in the magazine for an army, engaged in a siege and preparing for a fight, no more than twenty-seven half-barrels of powder, with a gift from Connecticut of thirty-six half-barrels more.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

BUNKER HILL BATTLE.

JUNE 17, 1775.

WARD determined, if possible, to avoid a general action. Apprehending that, if re-enforcements should leave his camp, the main attack of the British would be made upon Cambridge, he refused to impair his strength at head-quarters; but he ordered the New Hampshire regiments of Stark, stationed at Medford, and of Reed, near Charlestown Neck, to march to Prescott's support.

When word was brought that the British were actually landing in Charlestown, the general regarded it as a feint, and still refused to change his plan. But the zeal of individuals admitted of no control. The welcome intelligence that the British had actually sallied out of Boston thrilled through men, who were "waiting impatiently to avenge the blood of their murdered countrymen." Owing to the want of activity in Ward, who did not leave his house during the whole day, all method was wanting; but, while the bells were ringing and the drums beating to arms, officers who had longed for the opportunity of meeting the British in battle, soldiers who clung to the officers of their choice with constancy, set off for the scene of battle, hardly knowing themselves whether they were countenanced by the general, or the committee of safety, or the council of war; or moved by the same impetuous enthusiasm which had brought them forth on the nineteenth of April, and which held "an honorable death in the field for the liberties of all America preferable to an ignominious slavery."

The veteran Seth Pomeroy, of Northampton, an old man

of seventy, once second in rank in the Massachusetts army, but now postponed to younger men, heedless of the slight, was roused by the continuance of the cannon-^{1775.}ade, and rode to Charlestown Neck; there, thought-_{June 17.}ful for his horse, which was a borrowed one, he shouldered his fowling-piece, marched over on foot, and amidst loud cheers of welcome took a place at the rail-fence.

Joseph Warren, after discharging his duty in the committee of safety, resolved to take part in the battle. He was entreated by Elbridge Gerry not thus to expose his life. "It is pleasant and becoming to die for one's country," was his answer. Three days before, he had been elected a provincial major-general. He knew the defects of the American camp, the danger of the intrenched party, and how the character of his countrymen and the interests of mankind hung in suspense on the conduct of that day. About two o'clock, he crossed Bunker Hill, unattended, and with a musket in his hand. He stood for a short time near a cannon at the rail-fence in conversation with Putnam, who was ready to receive his orders; but Warren declined to assume authority, and passed on to the redoubt, which was expected to be the chief point of attack. As soon as he arrived there, Prescott proposed that he should take the command; but he answered as he had done to Putnam: "I come as a volunteer, to learn from a soldier of experience;" and in choosing his station he looked only for the place of greatest danger and importance.

Of the men of Essex who formed Little's regiment, full a hundred and twenty-five hastened to the aid of Prescott; Worcester and Middlesex furnished more than seventy from Brewer's regiment, and with them the prudent and fearless William Buckminster, of Barré, their lieutenant-colonel. From the same counties came above fifty more, under John Nixon, of Sudbury. Willard Moore, of Paxton, a man of superior endowments, led on about forty of Worcester county; from the regiment of Whitcomb, of Lancaster, there appeared at least fifty privates, but with no higher officers than captains. Not more than six light field-pieces were brought upon the ground; but, from de-

fective conduct and want of ammunition, even these were scarcely used. A few shot were thrown from two or three of them, as if to mark the contrast with the heavy and incessant cannonade of the British.

^{1775.}
^{June 17.} At the rail-fence there were, as yet, but the Connecticut men, whom Prescott had detached. The two field-pieces had been deserted by the artillerymen. After the British had landed, and just before they advanced, a party of New Hampshire levies arrived, conducted by Colonel John Stark, who, next to Prescott, brought the largest number of men into the field. When they came to the isthmus, which was raked by cannon, Dearborn, one of his captains who walked by his side, advised a quick step. "Dearborn," replied Stark, "one fresh man in action is worth ten fatigued ones;" and he marched leisurely across Charlestown Neck, through the galling fire. Of quick perception and resolute, the rugged trapper was as calm as though he had been hunting in his native woods. At a glance upon the beach along Mystic River, "I saw there," he related, "the way so plain that the enemy could not miss it." While some of his men continued the line of defence by still weaving grass between the rails, others, at his bidding, leaped down the bank, and with stones from adjacent walls, on the instant, threw up a breastwork to the water's edge. Behind this, in the most exposed station that could have been selected, where a covered boat, musket proof, carrying a heavy piece of cannon, if it had been towed up the channel, could have taken them on the side and instantly dislodged them, he posted triple ranks of his men; the rest knelt or lay down. The time allowed him no opportunity of consulting with Prescott; they fought independently; Prescott to defend the redoubt, Knowlton and Stark, with Reed's regiment, to protect its flank. These are all who arrived before the beginning of the attack; and not more than a hundred and fifty others of various regiments, led by different officers or driven by their own zeal, reached the battle-ground before the retreat. From first to last, Putnam took an active interest in the expedition; and the appointment of Prescott to its command was made with his concurrence. Without

interfering with that command, he was now planning additional works on Bunker Hill, now mingling with the Connecticut troops at the rail-fence, now threatening officers or men who seemed to him dilatory or timid, now at Cambridge in person or again by message, earnestly demanding re-enforcements, ever busily engaged in aiding and encouraging, here and there, as the case required. After the first landing of the British, he sent orders by his son to the Connecticut forces at Cambridge, "that they must all meet and march immediately to Bunker Hill to oppose the enemy." Chester and his company ran for their arms and ammunition, and marched with such alacrity that they reached the battle-ground before the day was decided.

While the camp at Cambridge was the scene of ^{1775.} so much confusion, Howe caused refreshments to ^{June 17.} be distributed abundantly among his troops. The re-enforcements which he had demanded arrived, consisting of several more companies of light infantry and grenadiers, the forty-seventh regiment, and a battalion of marines "The whole," wrote Gage, "made a body of something above two thousand men;" "about two thousand men and two battalions to re-enforce him," wrote Burgoyne; "near upon three thousand," thought very accurate observers, and a corps of five regiments, one battalion, and twenty flank companies, more than seventy companies, must, after all allowances, be reckoned at two thousand five hundred men, or more. It comprised the chief strength of the army.

Not till the news reached Cambridge of this second landing at Charlestown was Ward relieved from the apprehension that the main body of the British would interpose themselves between Charlestown and Cambridge. Persuaded of the security of the camp, and roused by the earnest entreaties of Devens, of Charlestown, himself a member of the committee of safety, Ward consented to order re-enforcements, among them his own regiment; but it was too late. The whole number of Americans in the battle, including all such as crossed the causeway seasonably to take part in the fight, according to the most solemn assurances of the officers who were in the action, to the

testimony of eye-witnesses, to contemporary inquirers, and to the carefully considered judgment of Washington, did not exceed one thousand five hundred men.

Nor should history forget to record that, as in the army at Cambridge, so also in this gallant band, the free negroes of the colony had their representatives; for the right of free negroes to bear arms in the public defence was, ^{1775.} at that day, as little disputed in New England as _{June 17.} their other rights. They took their place not in a separate corps, but in the ranks with the white man; and their names may be read on the pension rolls of the country, side by side with those of other soldiers of the revolution.

Two days after the expedition to Concord, Gage had threatened that, if the Americans should occupy Charlestown heights, the town should be burnt. Its inhabitants, however, had always been willing that the threat should be disregarded. The time for the holocaust was now come. Pretending that his flanking parties were annoyed from houses in the village, Howe sent a boat over with a request to Clinton and Burgoyne to burn it. The order was immediately obeyed by a discharge of shells from Copp's Hill. The inflammable buildings caught in an instant, and a party of men landed and spread the fire; but, from a sudden shifting of the wind, the movements of the British were not covered by the smoke of the conflagration.

At half past two o'clock, or a very little later, General Howe, not confining his attack to the left wing alone, advanced to a simultaneous assault on the whole front from the redoubt to Mystic River. In Burgoyne's opinion, "his disposition was soldier-like and perfect." Of the two columns which were put in motion, the one was led by Pigot against the redoubt; the other by Howe himself against the flank, which seemed protected by nothing but a fence of rails and hay easy to be scrambled over, when the left of Prescott would be turned, and he would be forced to surrender on finding the enemy in his rear.

As they began to march, the dazzling lustre of a summer's sun was reflected from their burnished armor; the battery on Copp's Hill, from which Clinton and Burgoyne were

watching every movement, kept up an incessant fire, which was seconded by the "Falcon" and the "Lively," the "Somerset" and the two floating batteries; the town of Charlestown, consisting of five hundred edifices of wood, burst into a blaze; and the steeple of its only church became a pyramid of fire. All the while the masts of the shipping, and the heights of the British camp, the church towers, the house-tops of a populous town, and the acclivities of the surrounding country were crowded with spectators, to watch the battle which was to take place, in full sight on a ^{1775.} June 17. conspicuous eminence; and which, as the English thought, was to assure the integrity of the British empire; as the Americans believed, was to influence the freedom and happiness of mankind.

As soon as Prescott perceived that the enemy were in motion, he commanded Robinson, his lieutenant-colonel, the same who conducted himself so bravely in the fight at Concord, and Henry Woods, his major, famed in the villages of Middlesex for ability and patriotism, with separate detachments to flank the enemy; and they executed his orders with prudence and daring. He then went through the works to encourage and animate his inexperienced soldiers. "The redcoats will never reach the redoubt," such were his words, as he himself used to narrate them, "if you will but withhold your fire till I give the order, and be careful not to shoot over their heads." After this round, he took his post in the redoubt, well satisfied that the men would do their duty.

The British advanced in line in good order, steadily and slowly, and with a confident, imposing air, pausing on the march to let their artillery prepare the way, and firing with muskets as they advanced. But they fired too soon and too high, doing but little injury.

Incumbered with their knapsacks, they ascended the steep hill with difficulty, covered as it was with grass reaching to their knees, and intersected with walls and fences. Prescott waited till the enemy had approached within eight rods as he afterwards thought, within ten or twelve rods as the committee of safety of Massachusetts wrote, when he

gave the word: "Fire!" At once, from the redoubt and breastwork, every gun was discharged. Nearly the whole front rank of the enemy fell, and the rest, to whom this determined resistance was unexpected, were brought to a stand. For a few minutes, fifteen or ten,—who can count such minutes!—each one of the Americans, completely covered while he loaded his musket, exposed only while he stood upon the wooden platform or steps of earth in the redoubt to take aim, fought according to his own judgment and will; and a close and unremitting fire was continued and returned, till the British staggered, wavered, and then in disordered masses retreated precipitately to the foot of the hill, and some even to their boats.

The column of the enemy, which advanced near the Mystic under the lead of Howe, moved gallantly forward against the rail-fence, and, when within eighty or one hundred yards, displayed into line with the precision of troops on parade. Here, too, the Americans, commanded by Stark and Knowlton, cheered on by Putnam, who like Prescott bade them reserve their fire, restrained themselves as if by universal consent, till at the proper moment, resting their guns on the rails of the fence, they poured forth a deliberate, well-directed, fatal discharge; here, too, the British recoiled from the volley, and after a short contest were thrown into confusion, sounded a retreat, and fell back till they were covered by the ground.

Then followed moments of joy in that unfinished redoubt, and behind the grassy rampart, where New England husbandmen, so often taunted with cowardice, beheld veteran battalions shrink before their arms. Their hearts
^{1775.}
June 17. bounded as they congratulated each other. The night-watches, thirst, hunger, danger, whether of captivity or death, were forgotten. They promised themselves victory.

As the British soldiers retreated, the officers were seen by the spectators on the opposite shore, running down to them, using passionate gestures, and pushing them forward with their swords. After an interval of about fifteen minutes, during which Prescott moved round among his men, en-

couraging them and cheering them with praise, the British column under Pigot rallied and advanced, though with apparent reluctance, in the same order as before, firing as they approached within musket-shot. This time the Americans withheld their fire till the enemy were within six or five rods of the redoubt, when, as the order was given, it seemed more fatal than before. The enemy continued to discharge their guns, and pressed forward with spirit. "But from the whole American line there was," said Prescott, "a continuous stream of fire;" and though the British officers exposed themselves fearlessly, remonstrating, threatening, and even striking the soldiers to urge them on, they could not reach the redoubt, but in a few ¹⁷⁷⁵ June 17. moments gave way in greater disorder than before. The wounded and the dead covered the ground in front of the works, some lying within a few yards of them.

On the flank also, the British light infantry again marched up its companies against the grass fence, but could not penetrate it. "Indeed," wrote some of the survivors, "how could we penetrate it? Most of our grenadiers and light infantry, the moment of presenting themselves, lost three fourths, and many nine tenths of their men. Some had only eight or nine men in a company left, some only three, four, or five." On the ground where but the day before the mowers had swung the scythe in peace, "the dead," relates Stark, "lay as thick as sheep in a fold." Howe for a few seconds was left nearly alone, so many of the officers about him having been killed or wounded; and it required the utmost exertion of all, from the generals down to the subalterns, to repair the rout. Rails which the British had clambered over were found the next day studded with marks of musket-balls, not a hand's-breadth apart; and officers, who had served in the most remarkable actions of the last war, declared that for the time it lasted it was the hottest engagement they ever knew.

At intervals, the artillery from the ships and batteries was playing, while the flames were rising over the town of Charlestown, and laying waste the places of the graves of its fathers, and streets were falling together, and ships at

the yards were crashing on the stocks, and the kindred of the Americans, from the fields and hills and house-tops around, watched every gallant act of their defenders. "The whole," wrote Burgoyne, "was a complication of horror and importance beyond any thing it ever came to my lot to be witness to. It was a sight for a young soldier, that the longest service may not furnish again."

"If we drive them back once more," cried Prescott, "they cannot rally again." To the enduring husbandmen about him, the terrible and appalling scene was altogether new. "We are ready for the red-coats again," they shouted, cheering their commander; and not one of them shrunk from duty.

In the longer interval that preceded the third attack, a council of officers disclosed the fact that the ammunition was almost exhausted. Though Prescott had sent in the morning for a supply, he had received none, and there were not fifty bayonets in his party. A few artillery cartridges were discovered, and as the last resource the powder in them was distributed, with the direction that not a kernel of it should be wasted.

CHAPTER XL.

THE RESULT OF BUNKER HILL BATTLE.

JUNE 17, 1775.

THE royal army, exasperated at retreating before an enemy whom they had professed to despise, and by the sight of many hundreds of their men who lay ^{1775.} June 17. dead or bleeding on the ground, prepared to renew the engagement. While the light infantry and a part of the grenadiers were left to continue the attack at the rail-fence, Howe concentrated the rest of his forces upon the redoubt. Cannon were brought to bear in such a manner as to rake the inside of the breastwork from one end of it to the other, so that the Americans were obliged to crowd within their fort. Then the British troops, having disincumbered themselves of their knapsacks, advanced in column with fixed bayonets. Clinton, who from Copp's Hill had watched the battle, at this critical moment, and without orders, pushed off in a boat, and put himself at the head of two battalions, the marines and the forty-seventh, which seemed to hesitate on the beach as if uncertain what to do. These formed the extreme left of the British, and advanced from the south; the fifth, the thirty-eighth, and forty-third battalions formed the centre, and attacked from the east; on their right was the fifty-second with grenadiers, who forced the now deserted intrenchments.

The Americans within the redoubt, attacked at once on three sides by six battalions, at that time numbered less than seven hundred men. Of these, some had no more than one, none more than three or four rounds of ammunition left. But Prescott's self-possession increased with danger.

He directed his men to wait till the enemy were within twenty yards, when they poured upon them a deadly volley. The British wavered for an instant, and then sprang forward without returning the fire. The American fire slackened, and began to die away. The British reached the rampart on the southern side. Those who first scaled the parapet were shot down as they mounted. Harris, a captain of the fifth, was mounting the fortification and encouraging his men to follow, when a ball grazed the top of his head; he fell back into the arms of Lord Rawdon, his lieutenant, who rescued him from being trampled on, and saved his life. Of four soldiers who lifted him up to bear him out of the reach of musketry, three were wounded, one of them mortally. Pitcairn fell mortally wounded, just as he was entering the redoubt. A single artillery cartridge furnished powder for the last muskets which the Americans fired. For some time longer they kept the enemy at bay, confronting them with the but-end of their guns, and striking them with the barrels after the stocks were broken. The breastwork being abandoned, the ammunition all expended, the redoubt half filled with regulars and on the point of being surrounded, and no other re-enforcements having arrived, at a little before four Prescott gave the word to retreat. He himself was among the last to leave the fort; escaping unhurt, though with coat and waistcoat rent and pierced by bayonets, which he parried with his sword. The men, retiring through the sally-port or leaping over the walls, made their way through their enemies, each for himself, without much order, and the dust which rose from the dry earth now powdered in the sun, and the smoke of the engagement, gave them some covering. The British, who had turned the north-eastern end of the breastwork, and had likewise come round the angle of the redoubt, were too much exhausted to use the bayonet against them with vigor, and at first the parties were so closely intermingled as to interrupt the firing; it also appeared that a supply of ball for the artillery, sent from Boston during the battle, was too large for the field-pieces which accompanied the detachment.

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The little handful of brave men would have been effectually cut off, but for the provincials at the rail-fence and the bank of the Mystic. They had repulsed the enemy twice; they now held them in check, till the main body had left the hill. Not till then did the Connecticut companies under Knowlton, and the New Hampshire soldiers under Stark, quit the station, which they had "nobly defended." The retreat was made with more regularity than could have been expected of troops who had been for so short a time under discipline, and many of whom had never before seen an engagement. Trevett and his men drew off the only field-piece that was saved. Pomeroy walked backwards, facing the enemy and brandishing his musket till it was struck and marked by a ball. The redoubt, the brow of Bunker Hill, and the passage across the Charlestown causeway, were the principal places of slaughter.

Putnam, at the third onset, was absent, "employed in collecting men" for re-enforcements, and was encountered by the retreating party on the northern declivity of Bunker Hill. Acting on his own responsibility, he now for the first time during the day assumed the supreme direction. Without orders from any person, he rallied such of the fugitives as would obey him, joined them to a ^{1775.} detachment which had not arrived in season to share _{June 17.} in the combat, and took possession of Prospect Hill, where he encamped that very night.

Repairing to head-quarters, Prescott offered with three fresh regiments to recover his post; but for himself he sought neither advancement nor reward nor praise, and, having performed the best service, never thought that he had done more than his duty. It is the contemporary record that during the battle "no one appeared to have any command but Colonel Prescott," and that "his bravery could never be enough acknowledged and applauded." The camp long repeated the story of his self-collected valor; and a historian of the war, who best knew the judgments of the army, has rightly awarded the "highest prize of glory to Prescott and his companions."

The British were unable to continue the pursuit beyond

the isthmus. They had already brought their best forces into the field ; more than a third of those engaged lay dead or bleeding ; and the survivors were fatigued, and overawed by the courage of their adversaries. The battle put an end to all offensive operations on the part of Gage.

The number of the killed and wounded in his army was, by his own account, at least one thousand and fifty-four. Seventy commissioned officers were wounded, and thirteen were slain. Of these, there were one lieutenant-colonel, two majors, and seven captains. For near half an hour there had been a continued sheet of fire from the

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provincials ; and the action was hot for double that period. The oldest soldiers had never seen the like. The battle of Quebec, which won half a continent, did not cost the lives of so many officers as the battle of Bunker Hill, which gained nothing but a place of encampment.

Howe, who was thought to have been wounded, was untouched ; though his white silk stockings were stained from his walking through the tall grass, red with the blood of his soldiers. That he did not fall was a marvel. The praises bestowed on his apathetic valor, on the gallantry of Pigot and Rawdon, on the conduct of Clinton, reflected honor on the untrained farmers, who, though inferior in numbers, had tasked the most strenuous exertions of their assailants before they could be dislodged from the defences which they had had but four hours to construct.

The loss of the Americans amounted to one hundred and forty-five killed and missing, and three hundred and four wounded. The brave Moses Parker, of Chelmsford, was wounded and taken prisoner ; he died in Boston jail. Major Willard Moore received one severe wound at the second attack, and soon after another, which he felt to be mortal ; so bidding farewell to those who would have borne him off, he insisted on their saving themselves, and remained to die for the good cause, which he had served in council and in arms. Buckminster was dangerously wounded, but recovered. The injury to Nixon was so great that he suffered for many months, and narrowly escaped with his life. Thomas Gardner, a member of con-

gress from Cambridge, was hastening with some part of his regiment to the redoubt; but, as he was descending Bunker Hill, he was mortally wounded by a random shot. His townsmen mourned for the rural statesman, to whom they had long and unanimously shown their ^{1775.} confidence; and Washington gave him the funeral ^{June 17.} honors due to a gallant officer. Andrew McClary, on that day unsurpassed in bravery, returning to reconnoitre, perished by a chance cannon-ball on the isthmus.

Just at the moment of the retreat fell Joseph Warren, the last in the trenches. In him were combined courage, endurance, and manners which won universal love. He opposed the British government, not from interested motives nor from resentment. A guileless and intrepid advocate of the rights of mankind, he sought not to appear a patriot; he was one in truth. As the moment for the appeal to arms approached, he watched with joy the revival of the generous spirit of New England's ancestors; and where peril was greatest he was present, animating not by words alone, but ever by his example. His integrity, the soundness of his judgment, his ability to write readily and well, his fervid eloquence, his exact acquaintance with American rights and the infringements of them, gave authority to his advice in private and in the provincial congress. Had he lived, the future seemed burdened with his honors; he cheerfully sacrificed all for his country and for freedom. Sorrow could now no more come nigh him, and he went to dwell in men's memories with Hampden.

His enemies recognised his worth by their exultation at his fall. By his countrymen, he was "most sincerely and universally lamented;" his mother would not be consoled. His death, preceded by that of his wife, left his children altogether orphans, till the continent, at the motion of Samuel Adams, adopted them in part at least as its own. The congress of his native state, that knew him well, had chosen him to guide their debates, and had recently raised him to high command in their army, proclaimed their "veneration for Joseph Warren, as for one whose memory is endeared to his countrymen, and to the worthy

in every part and age of the world, so long as virtue and valor shall be esteemed among men."

The reports of the generals show the opinions in the two camps after the battle. "The success," wrote Gage to Dartmouth, "which was very necessary in our present condition, cost us dear. The number of killed and wounded is greater than our forces can afford. We have lost some extremely good officers. The trials we have had show the rebels are not the despicable rabble too many have supposed them to be; and I find it owing to a military spirit encouraged among them for a few years past, joined with uncommon zeal and enthusiasm. They intrench, and raise batteries; they have engineers. They have fortified all the heights and passes around this town, which it is not impossible for them to annoy. The conquest of this country is not easy; you have to cope with vast numbers. In all their wars against the French, they never showed so much conduct, attention, and perseverance as they do now. I think it my duty to let your lordship know the true situation of affairs."

On the other hand, Ward, in a general order, gave thanks to "the officers and soldiers who behaved so gallantly at the late action in Charlestown;" and, in words which expressed the conviction of his camp, he added:
^{1775.}
^{June 17.} "We shall finally come off victorious, and triumph over the enemies of freedom and America." The events of the day confirmed Washington in his habitual belief that the liberties of America would be preserved. "Americans will fight," wrote Franklin on the occasion to his English friends; "England has lost her colonies for ever."



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